

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

JUNE 12TH, 1877.

COL. A. LANE FOX, F.R.S., *Vice-President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Dr. CROCHLEY CLAPHAM, Yorkshire, as member of the Institute, was announced.

The following presents to the Library were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the same.

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the ACADEMY.—*Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Copenhague*
No. 1, 1877.

From the ACADEMY.—*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*
de St. Pétersburg, Vol. XXIII, No. 3.

From the AUTHOR.—*Una Microcefala.* By Dr. Carlo Gracomini.

From the AUTHOR.—*Nowy Przyczynek do Antropologa Przed-*
historycznej ziem Polskich. By Dr. J. Kopernicki.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde. Part XXIV.
Verslag, van eene verzameling Maleische, Arabische, Javaansche
en andere Handschriften. By L. C. Sanden Berg.

Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs-Vergaderingen Van Het
Bataviaasch genootschap.

From the AUTHOR.—Papers relating to the Mandan and Pawnee
Languages. By Prof. F. V. Hayden.

From the AUTHOR.—The Growth of Children. By Dr. H. P. Bow-
ditch.

From the INSTITUTE.—The Journal of the Canadian Institute.
Vol. XV, No. 5.

From the MANX SOCIETY.—*Illiam Dhône and the Manx Rebellion,*
1651.

From the SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES AT BATAVIA.—Tijdschrift XXIII, afl. 5, 6—XXIV, afl. 1, 2, 3; Notulen XIV, 1877, afl. 2, 3, 4; Het Malush der Molukken. By F. S. A. de Clercq; Verslag van eine Verzameling Handschriften. By L. W. C. Von den Berg; Catalogus der Ethnologische Afdeeling van het Museum 2 druh.

From the EDITOR.—Nature (to date).

From the EDITOR.—Revue Scientifique. Nos. 48 and 50, 1877.

Mr. W. J. KNOWLES then read the following paper, and exhibited many objects referred to therein.

FLINT IMPLEMENTS, and ASSOCIATED REMAINS *found near
BALLINTOY, CO. ANTRIM.* BY W. J. KNOWLES.

ON making an excursion some time ago round the north coast of Ireland, in search of antiquities, I visited a place called Whitepark Bay, near Ballintoy—a quiet recess enclosed on the land side by steep cliffs—and found lying exposed on banks of sand a great quantity of flint implements. In a short visit of less than three hours, I collected 114 scrapers, and 52 other flint tools; besides hammers, cores, a grain rubber, having both upper and under portions, and bone implements. I got associated with these a large quantity of bones and teeth, some of which were human, the others being those of horse, ox, deer, pig, dog, &c. The objects were found not in hollows, as at Portstewart, but on the top of a bank of sand extending for about half-a-mile in length, quite close to the sea, and about 30 feet above the sea-level. In several places along the top of this bank, there is a layer from 3 to 12 inches thick, more solid and coherent than the surrounding sand bank, and coloured dark by carbonaceous matter. The greater quantity of the implements and bones were lying exposed on the surface, though some appear never to have been disturbed since exposed, the upper side having a white porcellanous crust, while the underside shows a clean unweathered surface; but a considerable number of implements and bones, with shells, chiefly patella and littorina, were found more or less embedded in the dark coloured matrix. On the surface of this dark layer there are several collections of stones, similar to ordinary building material, arranged mostly in a circular form, which I believe to be the remains of ancient dwelling-places. I measured the diameter of one of the best defined of these, and found it 27 feet. The floor inside this circle is darker and of greater thickness and solidity than the ordinary dark layer, and as far as I examined, I found very

few remains of any kind in it. The dark layer outside the dwelling corresponds more or less with the Danish kitchen middens, and may have been a little thicker at one time, having lost somewhat in thickness by denudation. At one time this layer and the objects it contained had been buried to a considerable depth with sand, as is evident from a small remnant of this covering, about 20 feet in thickness, still remaining at one corner. This has been well protected by a thick covering of vegetation, including masses of bramble, wild rose, &c., but a breach has at some time been made which enabled the wind to commence its work of destruction, and all the covering has been removed much faster, I conceive, than it accumulated. I imagine the covering to have been heaped up in this way. When no longer used by the ancient people, the surface, owing to its being a rich soil, would quickly get covered with vegetation. Of the sand that would blow on to this surface the greater portion would be blown away again, but a few grains would become entangled among the blades of grass, and as the vegetation would grow up farther, a little more sand would be retained, and so on, the increase in thickness being an exceedingly slow process, and depending on the quickness of the vegetable growth, and the quantity of sand it would be able to detain and protect from the wind.

The scrapers are in greater abundance than any other implement, showing I think, that the preparation of skins for clothing was the next essential occupation to the procuring of food. They are mostly of good size, and none of them very small like some of those found at Portstewart. In many instances they are roughly made, having teeth-like prominences projecting from the edge. Perhaps a certain roughness may have been sometimes necessary in a preparatory course of dressing, and the more finely-made scrapers may have been used for finishing. Some of the scrapers are neatly dressed all round, resembling in some respects long flakes, which are frequently found dressed round the edges and over the back. I found one or two of the latter, and I think their use is not very well known, but I believe them to be a more highly finished form of scraper.

There is another class of implements which I found to be pretty abundant, though not so numerous as the scrapers, that I would invite special attention to. They are much larger than the scraper, and are not of any well-defined shape, but all have a thick back and cutting edge, and could be held in the hand and used for chopping. Seen singly or found in a different situation, one might not feel inclined to acknowledge the greater number of them to be implements at all, but when compared

together they have a common character, and being found with other remains, evidently undisturbed since first laid there, I have no doubt in my mind that they were used as tools, the marks of use, and in some cases of dressing, being quite visible. I have tried some of these in cutting a branch from a tree, and find that they may have been very useful to the ancient people for a similar purpose. I also found some small flint axes, and several pointed and coarsely-dressed implements usually described as lance-heads.

The fields around this place are covered with flint flakes, scrapers, cores, &c., similar to those found on the sand, but the sandbank has the advantage of having many remains of the pre-historic races associated with the flint implements. Among these we have the hammers used in chipping the flint, but the quartzite pebbles seem to have been scarcer here than at Portstewart; and basalt, greenstone, and altered lias have been resorted to. In the wall of one of the dwelling-places, I found one of the oval tool-stones. It appeared to me as if it had been laid carefully in a crevice of the wall, and lain there since last used. It is hollowed on both sides, and has a small piece broken off one end, but there is no evidence of its having been used as a tool. Two of these objects have been found with the flint implements at Portstewart, and this is another instance, going to prove, I think, the oval tool-stone to be of the stone age.

The bone implements are not in any way peculiar, I believe. One is a pointed bone, and was probably used as an awl; another is flat, pointed at one end and indented at the other, but the indenture may have been part of a hole left by the other end of the implement breaking off; the third is a portion of a tine of deer horn, with a single hole bored through it near the thick end. I also found the end of an antler, which though not a tool, has marks of sawing on it. Near to it was a flint flake, which fits into the cuts, and was I believe the implement used in making them. If so, the flake and antler must have lain together undisturbed from the time when the operator, perhaps by some sudden impulse, dropped them, until they were recently picked up. I also think it deserving of notice that the upper and under portions of the grain rubber that I have already mentioned, were found quite close to one another.

There are two other objects which I found lying on the surface detached from the matrix, which may not be of the same age as the objects already described, though I am strongly inclined to believe that they are. The one is a piece of wood, a slightly crooked branch, very roughly dressed all over, with a piece broken off at one end. It is just such a piece as one might expect to be made for a handle to a stone implement, and

that a flint tool might make. The other is a portion of that part of the bark of the birch that peels off while the tree is growing, rolled up into a cylindrical form, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. It has been neatly dressed, and has its edges cut thin and overlapping. I submit these with the other objects for the examination and opinion of the members of the Institute, and on farther examination of the dark layer I may be able to state whether there is anything to show that it has a preservative nature for objects of wood. I may mention that to make sure that flint implements could cut and prepare a piece of substance so corky in its nature as the cylinder of bark, I procured a similar piece of bark from the cherry, and I was able to make as clean cuts and sharp edges as I pleased. Indeed, in all cases in which I have made trial of flint tools, I found them most efficient; so much so, that I consider our predecessors who had no better implements are not at all to be pitied.

I found a considerable quantity of pottery scattered about, and as I recently found some bronze objects at Portstewart, I was inclined to believe that the pottery was all derived from burial urns that had, in the bronze age, been deposited in the sand that covered the flint objects, and that on the sand being removed by denudation, the objects of the stone and bronze ages got intermingled. This may to some extent be the case, but on examining the dark layer where still covered with 20 feet of sand, I found fragments of pottery along with the flint implements and bones, and also lumps of clay such as pottery would be made from, which leads me to believe that the fragments I have so frequently found are the remains, not of burial urns, but of vessels in daily use among the people of the stone age.

I have not yet had a professional opinion on the bones found with the other objects, but with regard to the human bones, I found them in two places—a heap, which has apparently been an entire skeleton, but now greatly broken up, at one place, and two single bones far removed from them. There was no dark layer where I found the heap of human bones, but I got horses' bones and teeth on the same level. One might readily suppose that the human bones were the remains of some drowned person cast on the shore in a storm, but I found among the heap three teeth having their crowns worn quite flat, which leads me to believe that the person had been accustomed to such gritty food as would likely be the fare of the dwellers among the sand-dunes, and that therefore he was probably one of the flint implement makers.

Col. A. LANE FOX made some observations on the paper and exhibitions.

The following paper was then read by the Director, in the absence of the Author.

CUSTOMS of the NEW CALEDONIAN WOMEN belonging to the NAN-CAUSHY TINE, or STUART'S LAKE INDIANS, NATOTIN TINE, or BABINE's and NANTLEY TINE, or FRASER LAKE TRIBES. From information supplied by GAVIN HAMILTON, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company's service, who has been for many years among these Indians, both he and his wife speaking their languages fluently. Communicated by Dr. JOHN RAE.

GIRLS verging on maturity, that is when their breasts begin to form, take swans' feathers mixed with human hair and plait bands, which they tie round their wrists and ankles to secure long life. At this time they are careful that the dishes out of which they eat, are used by no other person, and wholly devoted to their own use; during this period they eat nothing but dog fish, and starvation *only* will drive them to eat either fresh fish or meat.

When their first periodical sickness comes on, they are fed by their mothers or nearest female relation by *themselves*, and on no account will they touch their food with their own hands. They are at this time also careful not to touch their heads with their hands, and keep a small stick to scratch their heads with.

They remain outside the lodge, all the time they are in this state, in a hut made for the purpose. During all this period they wear a skull-cap made of skin to fit very tight; this is never taken off until their first monthly sickness ceases; they also wear a strip of black paint about 1 inch wide across their eyes, and wear a fringe of shells, bones, &c., hanging down from their foreheads to below their eyes; and this is never taken off till the second monthly period arrives and ceases, when the nearest male relative makes a feast; after which she is considered a fully matured woman; but she has to refrain from eating anything fresh for one year after her first monthly sickness; she may however eat partridge, but it must be cooked in the crop of the bird to render it harmless. I would have thought it impossible to perform this feat had I not seen it done. The crop is blown out, and a small bent willow put round the mouth; it is then filled with water, and the meat being first minced up, put in also, then put on the fire and boiled till cooked.

Their reason for hanging fringes before their eyes, is to hinder any bad medicine man from harming them during this critical

period : they are very careful not to drink whilst facing a medicine man, and do so only when their backs are turned to him. All these habits are left off when the girl is a recognised woman, with the exception of their going out of the lodge and remaining in a hut, every time their periodical sickness comes on. This is a rigidly observed law with both single and married women.

When about to have a child, the woman is also expelled the lodge, and lives in a hut until thoroughly recovered, and is attended by *another woman when able to pay for such attendance*. This horrible custom causes many deaths, as a woman is often taken unexpectedly with no hut made, and then she must bring forth in the snow, perhaps in the dead of the night, and remain there until some humane person raises a shelter for mother and child. On her recovery she re-enters the lodge, but for a few days after if an Indian kill an animal, it must not be taken into the lodge through the door, but through the smoke-hole in the roof, and tail first, in order to dissipate any bad influence the newly recovered squaw may bring ; afterwards things resume their usual routine. No woman will ever eat lynx meat, as it assists to make them ugly and to hasten old age.*

LANGLEY LEGEND.—No. I.

In ancient times there lived a very bad and cruel man of extraordinary size, who ruled over every place and acted as he chose ; he was also a great medicine man. This chief held in bondage an Indian, to whom he was very cruel, never giving him any water, there being none on the earth but what this great chief had, and this was carefully kept in a large birch basket. During the absence of his master, the Indian stole and ran off with the basket of water, but was soon missed and pursued by his master. The Indian as he ran used to put his hand in the basket and spill the water along ; very often owing to the jolting, a large quantity would fall out ; he ran this way for a long time, until at last he was nearly overtaken ; he then upset all the remainder of the water, broke the basket in pieces and escaped. The great medicine man made the water thus last thrown out bad, and not fit to drink, thinking thereby to punish the Indian. The water sprinkled out with the hand formed the rivers, what was

* NOTE by DR J. RAE.—The lynx is rather a favourite food of the Indian, being delicate eating, and white like veal. Probably some medicine man has got up the story on purpose to deter women from eating it, as is done with the moose nose, the reindeer head, and certain parts of other animals and birds, which are tabooed to women.

spilt by jolting the lakes, and that last thrown out, the sea, made salt by the medicine man.

The broken basket drifted in pieces, and formed the islands visible from the mouth of the Fraser, namely Vancouver Island and others.

The Indian wandered about until eventually he settled on the Fraser River, and built his lodge. Feeling lonely, he took his canoe and went fishing, caught a sturgeon, and bringing it ashore, and with the aid of what he had learned from his old master, the great medicine man, changed the sturgeon into a woman, and thus began the Quaitlan or Fraser River Indians.

LANGLEY LEGEND.—No. II.

Many ages ago the Fraser River flooded its banks and covered the whole country with water, drowning every living thing that lived on the land, and this was caused by a very great medicine man. One of the Fraser River chiefs had a large war canoe, into which he went with his wives and family. After floating about for a long time, they found shore and landed. However, owing to all the deer, bears, &c., being drowned, they ran the risk of being obliged to go naked—plenty of food being obtained from the fish in the river. The Indian had in his possession a large variety of furs, so he took a bearskin and sewed up one of his wives (who was in the family way) in it, by which means she was changed into a bear. He did the same with another of his wives, only substituting a deerskin for the other. Not wishing to part with more of his wives in this unpleasant manner, he set his medicine wisdom to work to produce other animals on the earth. The only animals he could find were the beaver, otter, musk-rat, and mink.

Whilst drifting about in his canoe, he found a squirrel half drowned, which lived and had young. The squirrels became quickly numerous, and by coaxing and medicine he managed to pair the squirrels with the mink, producing a family of martens thereby. Then the marten paired with the otter, making the fisher; the fisher then cohabited with the bear and produced the wolverine, for which the Indian was very sorry, as he turned out such a bad animal. In this way he managed to stock the country with different animals, with the skins of which to clothe the Indians.

The following remarks were made by Dr. Messer, R.N.:—

On "AN INQUIRY into the REPUTED POISONOUS NATURE of the ARROWS of the SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS." Published by authority of, and communicated by, the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

THE recorded results of wounds by the arrows of the South Pacific Islanders, appearing to me inconsistent with the generally accepted belief that these weapons were poisoned, I was led during my visits to these islands, in 1865–6, to institute some inquiries as to the means used by the natives in preparing their arrows. All accounts stated that the wounds were followed by "*tetanus*" after an interval of from five to ten days; while it was generally asserted that the arrows were poisoned by immersion in a dead decomposing human body, or by smearing them with different vegetable juices.

If the first process were really adopted, we should expect to have heard of the well-known symptoms of *septicocima*, or blood poisoning, following; but as far as I was able to learn, no such symptoms had ever been observed after wounds by these weapons. The second process is certainly adopted by several savage races, as where Woorali, Coroval, &c., are used; but we know that none of these substances, or in fact that no other substance, will produce tetanus after a period of five or six days' incubation in the body.

During my second visit to these islands, I was suddenly afforded an opportunity of witnessing the effects of the arrows of Santa Cruz Island in seven cases of wounds by these weapons, on my own shipmates, two officers and five men; the result being that three of the wounded were attacked by tetanus on the fifth and sixth days, and died within seventy hours.

This enormous proportion of cases of fatal tetanus after most trivial wounds, seemed at first sight to point to poison as a very probable explanation of such an unusual result. I accordingly extended my investigations by means of a series of written questions addressed to the various missionaries and others resident among the different islands in the South West Pacific, from whom I obtained much interesting and valuable information, which is embodied in the two papers published in the "Statistical Reports of the Health of the Navy, for 1875 and 1876." It will there be seen that my informants, with one exception, declare that none of the natives poison their arrows by decomposing animal matter, and that the only animal part of a poisoned arrow is the point, which is almost always made of some portion of a human bone, simply for want of any better material in the islands. It would also appear that some of the natives place considerable

faith in the "mana" or supernatural power of the bone, especially if derived from some famous warrior or sorcerer. The stories generally current that arrows are poisoned by immersion in a decomposing human body, may be traced to the fact of visitors having seen dead bodies lying above ground for the purpose of obtaining the long bones, where the natives have informed them that they were for making arrows.

There seems to be no doubt that in many of the New Hebrides, Banks, and Santa Cruz islands, the natives smear their arrows with the juices of different plants, which they mostly believe to be poisonous. I have obtained samples of several of the substances prepared from the juices of several plants, the native names of which only I have learned; but the chief of the plants seems to be an Euphorbium named "*Loto*" or "*Natoto*." With two of the reputed poisons, and with four different arrows procured from as many different islands, I performed fifteen experiments on three dogs and two rabbits, and obtained results which although not quite conclusive, are yet such as to throw the gravest doubts on the poisonous nature of any of the articles used by the natives.

There also can be no doubt that most of the natives hold these weapons in great fear, and observe the greatest precautions in preparing and preserving them; at the same time there is much evidence to show that they also combine a large amount of superstition with their belief in the poison, and in this may perhaps be found an explanation of the frequency with which tetanus follows wounds by these weapons.

This disease is naturally very prevalent in hot climates, and especially among the black races; and we know that where terror, despondency, and other depressing mental influences are combined with wounds in such climates, it also frequently attacks white people. A firm belief then in the insidious and fatal nature of these poisoned arrows, will be naturally associated with much fear and morbid mental disturbance, even among white people, however well informed, but lacking definite medical knowledge, and will be most likely to induce a condition suitable for the development of tetanus.

My chief object in this inquiry has been to endeavour to dispel this belief in the poisons, and thereby minimise the risks of tetanus; for it is asserted by many missionaries and others, that this and other allied diseases of the nervous system, have become much less frequent among those islanders who have renounced superstition and have embraced Christianity.

Besides my own experiments, I may mention that Professor Busk, F.R.S., has analysed the substance found on an arrow from Mallicolo (New Hebrides group), without detecting any

tetanising ingredient. Professor Leveridge of Sydney University, has obtained an alkaloid from the substance used in Efate Island (New Hebrides), which was innocuous to guinea pigs. Professor Halford of Melbourne University, has failed to produce any bad symptoms on dogs and rabbits with the same substances used by me. These gentlemen have all arrived at similar conclusions, viz., that the tetanus observed after wounds by these poisoned arrows, is the ordinary traumatic disease, and not the result of the poison on the arrows.

We may therefore, I think, in the meantime, be justified in looking upon these reputed poisons with the greatest doubt as to their potency. At the same time, it may be premature to state positively that none of the substances used by the South Pacific Islanders possess poisonous properties. But that these natives possess a poison that will produce a disease identical with traumatic tetanus, after an interval of five or ten days, and after only a short contact with the living body, is a fact yet to be proved.

The Director then read the following paper, in the absence of the Author.

The ETHNOLOGY of GERMANY, PART II.

The GERMANS of CAESAR. By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.

THE first Germans whom Cæsar encountered were the Germans ruled over by Ariovistus. His army was not a mere collection of warriors making a raid across the Rhine, but was apparently a migration of a whole people, consisting of six confederate tribes. Such migrations became frequent enough two or three centuries later, and had we sufficient information about the earlier period, we should doubtless find that they were common enough then also. They are not to be explained by a mere wanton habit of wandering. It is not for this cause that whole peoples desert their hearths, desert the homeland endeared to them as their birth-place, containing the sacred fanes of their gods and the graves of their ancestors. They moved because they were compelled to move, either by the pressure of physical circumstances or of more vigorous tribes; and it was doubtless one of such causes that set the people of Ariovistus in motion. As we shall see presently, the time at which he lived was marked by the aggressive advance of the great Suevic or Suabian race in central Germany; and just as this was the cause of the migration of the Tencteri, the Usipetes and the Ubii, so I believe it to have been the cause of the migration of Ariovistus and his people. The confederacy which he led con-

sisted of the tribes named Harudes, Marcomanni, Tribocci, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusii and Suevi. The Suevi doubtless forming only a contingent, being one of those contingents mentioned by Cæsar, which they were accustomed to send out annually for purposes of plunder.

The Harudes again were apparently no part of the original invaders. They came in afterwards, as Ario-vistus himself told the Sequani (*vide infra*); we may therefore discard them for the present. The Suevi again belonged to another kingdom, they were merely a contingent of the main race in central Germany ruled over by Nasua and Cimber, as Cæsar says. (I, 37.) These also we may for the present discard.

We have left five tribes, the Marcomanni, Nemetes, Tribocci, Vangiones and Sedusii. The Marcomanni bear a name meaning originally Marchmen or Mercians, but applied by the classical authors just as the term Mercia was by our early chroniclers, in no generic sense, but specifically to the ancient inhabitants of Bohemia. They were, I believe, the ancestors of the modern Bavarians.

The Marcomanni formed a powerful empire in central Germany, which a few years later was ruled over by Marobodus; and it is exceedingly unlikely that they should as a body have migrated at this time into Gaul, or that Ario-vistus should have been their king. They doubtless, like the Suevi, furnished a contingent to the invading host, a posse of that warlike youth which was ever ready for an excursion if fighting and plunder might be expected.

We have left for consideration the tribes of the Nemetes, Tribocci, Vangiones and Sedusii. They were, I believe, the special subjects of Ario-vistus, and the Germans proper of Cæsar's first book. Let us first say a few words about the name German. It is, in the first place, not a native name. The people of Germany called themselves Deutsch, and Grimm, Zeuss, and others are at one in urging that it is a name applied by outsiders to the people of Germany. In the next place, it is a generic name, applied not only to the people of the upper Rhine, but also to those of the lower Rhine. Thus Cæsar, speaking of certain tribes there, says the Condrusi, Eburones, Cærcesi, Poemani, who were collectively known as Germani (II, 4); and in another place he speaks of the Segni and the Condrusi of the race of the Germans. (VI, 32.) We find the name occurring also far from the Teutonic frontier of Gaul, and in fact on its opposite borders, for we read in Pliny of a tribe living on the Iberian frontier of Gaul called the Oretani, who he says were also called Germani. (Pliny, III, 3.) Ptolemy tells us their chief town was called Oretion Germanon. (Zeuss p. 59.)

We may go a step further, and in examining the neighbours of Gaul on the side of Germany, we shall find that the name German was not applied to them all, but only to a certain portion of them: thus Tacitus says, speaking of the people of the middle Rhine, “Quidam ut in licencia vetustatis, plures deo ortos pluresque gentis appellationes Marsos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandilios affirmant eaque vera et antiqua nomina. Ceterum Germaniae vocabulum recens et nuper additum, quoniam qui primi Rhenum transgressi Gallos expulerint ac nunc Tungri tunc Germani vocati eunt. Ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum mox a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur.” (Tacitus, “Germ.” II.)

Again the term Germani is used in early times in a very loose way; indeed, so much so, that in a passage of Seneca, “consol. ad Helv.” VI, and others of Pliny, Par. 4, and Dio. 5, 3, 12, it was apparently applied to Celtic tribes.

Tacitus argues that the name was adopted by those who were styled Germans from their victories, “ita nationis nomen, non gentis evaluisse paulatim, ut omnes primum a victori ob metum mox a se ipsis invento nomine Germani vocarentur” (“Germ.” II); and it has been suggested that the name may be connected with such a word as guerre-man or war-man; but Zeuss, whose etymological instinct, and whose knowledge of Celtic and German was profound, disclaims a Teutonic explanation of the name, and says that the explanation of Tacitus, like the parallel explanations of the names Suevi and Vandilii, which he derives from the names of their gods, is not probable; and he argues with considerable force, that when Tacitus himself says that those who were formerly called Tungri, were named Germani after crossing the Rhine and coming in contact with the Celts, that he shows the name was adopted from their new neighbours, just as the Slavic tribes adopted the name Wends from their Teutonic neighbours. (“Die Deutsche,” etc., 60.) Zeuss shows that if the name were connected with the French guerre, or the German wirre (confusion) or wehre, the old German weri or wari, the name ought to be Virromani or Varimanni, and not Germani (*id.*, 59, note); nor does he countenance the derivation from the old German man’s name Germ, another form of Gorm or Guthrum, whence we have the local names Germenze or Germize in the Lorsch annals. (*Id.*)

Cæsar is the first author who uses the name for trans-Rhenane peoples; before his time its use was clearly very uncertain; thus Aristotle is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium as naming a tribe Germani, which he tells us was of Celtic race. (*Id.*, 60.)

In the Fasti Capitolini, a famous chronicle of Roman affairs, reaching from 120 A.U.C. to 765 A.U.C., we read, in the year

222 B.C., M. Claudius M.F., M. N. Marcellus, An. **DXXXI** Cos. de Galleis Insubribus et Germaneis K. Mart. isque spolia op̄i (ma) rettulit duce hostium Vir (domaro ad Cla) stid (ium interfecto) (Grævius, "Thes. Antt. Rom." II, 227; Zeuss, *loc. cit.*) Polybius, who describes this event, speaks of the allies of the Insubres as Gaesati, and tells us they were mercenaries from the Rhone Valley. (*Id.*) The term Germani therefore here, as in the case of the Tungri, seems to be an appellative, and in this case perhaps applied to a Celtic tribe; for the names of its leaders, as given by Polybius, are, as Zeuss has shown, Celtic; they were, Kogkolitanos and Aneroestos. On the other hand, it would seem that the upper part of the Rhone Valley was in early times occupied by certain tribes whose Teutonic affinities are not improbable, and whom we hope to treat of in a future paper. It is these tribes to whom Livy applies the term "semi-Germani." (21–38.) The burden of my argument is to show that the name Germani was not indigenous to the Teutonic tribes themselves. This view seems to be now held by all the best authorities. The most general notion among these same authorities is, that the name is of Celtic origin, and was given to the Teutonic peoples by their neighbours the Gauls. The term Celtic is in this case vague, and may include a good deal from the Romans themselves to the Belgæ. With this extension of the term Celtic, I am disposed to think that the view that the name Germani is of Celtic origin is a true one. That the name was the usual and ordinary name however given by the Gauls to their neighbours beyond the Rhine, I cannot so readily admit. The French name for Germany is Allemagne, and for Germans Les Allemands, and I have small doubt that these are old Gallic names for the country and the people, as I shall argue when we come to treat of the Allemanni.

What if the name Germani be Latin, and originated with the Romans themselves? *Germanus* is a very good and ancient Latin word, meaning brother, and Festus connects it with that Latin root which we have adopted into English in the word germ and germination; while the very word itself in its sense of close relationship is used constantly in the phrase cousin-german. Varro ap. Serv ad Virg. V, 412, explains Germani as meaning that the individuals answering to the description were sprung from the same genitrix. In the sense of brother or close relation the word is used by the earlier writers, such as Virgil, Cicero and Terence, and so essentially Latin is it, that it occurs in several puns, as for instance in regard to two consuls who had a mutual struggle. "De Germanis non de Gallis duo triumphant consules." (Velleius II, 67.) Cicero makes a similar joke about a Cimbrian who killed his brother, "Germanum Cimber occidit" ("Cic. ap

Quin." VIII, 3); and the authors of the great Latin lexicon of Facciolatti, argue that the name was applied to the people of Germany by the Romans, either because they called each other brothers, or because they deemed them so like in manners, &c., to the Gauls, that they styled them Germani, viz., brothers or relatives.

I am disposed to accept this view, and to conclude that the names Germani and Germania are of Roman origin.

I may add in a parenthesis, that the towns Germanicia in Commagene, and Germanicopolis in Paphlagonia, doubtless derived their names, as has been said, from Germanicus.

Having discussed the name German, let us now turn to the various tribes called German by Caesar, and begin with the four already named who were the subjects of Arioistus.

First in regard to the etymology of their names. Zeuss, whose tendency to make everything German is somewhat marked, allows that the name Tribocci is not Teutonic but Celtic. The particle tri is so essentially Celtic, that with pol and pen it has served as a shibboleth by which to mark Cornish names. It means place in Celtic (Latham, "Germania," 98); and we may adduce a series of Celtic names, such as Trecassi, Trinobantes, Treveri, etc., in which it occurs. The syllables Bocci or Bocchi may be compared with similar syllables in the name Teuto Bocchus, and the latter again with the Teutobodiaci of Pliny, a Gallic tribe of Asia Minor. Bocci or Bocchi I take to be a mere form of Boii, which occurs as Bogi and Bogii, and in composition as Tolistobogi or Tolistobogi (Zeuss, "Der Deutsche," etc., 181-182), all Gallic tribes; and this is much strengthened by the fact that on a stone found near Marbach the names Boii and Tribocci occur together. I have no hesitation therefore in affirming that the name Tribocci is a Celtic name, and one which connects the people more or less closely with the great Celtic tribe of the Boii.

The Nemetes also bear a name which is unquestionably Celtic; not only is the particle et, the Gallic plural, as Zeuss has shown (*op. cit.*, 220, note), but the name may be compared with such Celtic names as Drynemetum, Augustonemetum, Nemetacum, Nemetobrigas, Nemetati, Nementuri, Nemosus, Nemeteceimá, Nemavia, Vernemet (fanum ingens, Venant Fort, I, 9), Nimidae (sacra silvarum im Indic supers.); (Mehlis "Studien," 70), (Zeuss, 220, note). The names are in fact closely related to the Latin nemus, a wood, and Nemetes probably has a similar meaning to Catti, and means woodmen.

There is a general admission that these two names are Celtic in form. Zeuss claims the name Vangiones as German, mainly, I believe, because of its likeness to Vangio, the name of a king mentioned by Tacitus. It must be allowed that the names are

in fact the same, but Tacitus does not make Vangio a Suabian, as Zeuss says, (*op. cit.*, 219); Vannius was the king of the Quadi, and Vangio was the son-in-law of Vannius (Tacit. "Annals," XII, 63, XII, 29–30), and he perhaps founded the old city of Vania, called Bana by the Slaves, Banya by the Magyars, and Schemnitz by the Germans. That the Vangiones were closely connected with the Quadi I am very willing to believe, but this does not make them in my view necessarily Teutons. I believe they represent the old Celtic population of Bohemia; but to them I hope to return in another paper.

Of the Sedusii mentioned by Cæsar, we know nothing more from any other author, but the name may be compared with that of the Seduni, a tribe of Switzerland, which was no doubt Celtic.

It is curious that Tacitus in his account of the war which the Treviri carried on with the Romans, mentions as their allies the Vangiones, Cæracates, and Tribocci. This is apparently another curious instance of the different way in which the German tribes are described in the "Annals" and the "Germania," for it is exceedingly probable that these Cæracates, also spelt Cærataces, are the Nemetes already mentioned. Zeuss compares the name with the Celtic man's name Caractacus mentioned by Tacitus, and it may be further compared with that of the tribe Cerasi, to which I shall refer presently.

So far the philological evidence is clearly in favour of making the Germans of Ariovistus Celts rather than Teutons. But we have not yet done with our evidence. In the time of Ptolemy, the three tribes of the Tribocci, Nemetes and Vangiones were settled on the left bank of the Rhine in Alsace, and he gives us the names of certain towns within their borders whose etymology is also instructive.

Within the territory of the Nemetes, were the two towns of Noviomagus and Argentoraton. See Mehlis, *op. cit.*, 57–8, who reverses the usual reading of Ptolemy, which gives Noviomagus and Rufiana to the Nemetes. Noviomagus was probably the modern Spire. (*Id.*, 64–5.) The name Spire in the form Sphira seems to occur first in the geographer of Ravenna. (Bachmeister, "Alem. Wand." 25.)

The termination magus is purely Celtic, and meant field. (Mehlis, 59.) It occurs in the composition of many Celtic towns, as Brocomagus, Rigomagus, Durnomagus, Marcomagus, etc., etc., and in this sense may be compared with similarly constructed Teutonic names, as Königsfeld, Hirschfeld, Fürstenfeld, Zaberfeld and Rheinfeld.

The first particle of the name is common to the Western Arian languages, in the sense of new, and occurs in the Greek

Neapolis, the Russian Novgorod, the German Neustadt, the English New Minster, etc. The old Irish form of the particle is nu. (Bachmeister, "Alem. Wand.", 12, note.)

Argentoratum, called Argentaria by the Geographer of Ravenna, is also a Celtic gloss, meaning the silver town. The last syllable being the well known Irish word rath, meaning a town. (Mehlis, *op. cit.*, 65.) It is called Argentaria, and also Strasburgum by the geographer of Ravenna, and is doubtless to be identified with Strasburg, the Stratisburg, or town on the Roman road. (Mehlis, 65; Bachmeister, "Keltische Briefe," 121.)

Silver in Irish is arget, in Welsh aryant, in Cornish argans, and in Armorican argant; and we have another town compounded with it within the borders of Gaul, in Argentomagus, the modern Argenton (Bachmeister, *id.*, 120); while the second syllable occurs in the Gallic names Rate, Ratomagus, Barderate, and Corderate. (*Id.*, 59.)

Among the Vangiones were the two towns of Rufiana and Borbetomagus. Rutiana is held by Mehlis ("Studien," 62) to be a distinctly Celtic gloss, derived from the Celtic word rufius, a wolf; and he fixes its site with great probability at the ruins, partially of Roman origin, situated not far from Neustadt, and known as Wolfsburg, which name is a mere translation of the Celtic name. With the other towns on the Upper Rhine Rufiana was destroyed by the Alemanni. It was again occupied, and received the name of Neustadt, which became a walled town in the beginning of the thirteenth century. (Mehlis, *op. cit.*, 62–63.)

Borbetomagus is a distinctly Celtic gloss of the same form as the Noviomagus which we have already discussed. It is now represented by the city of Worms, which is often in old documents called Wormaz-felda, Wormaz-feld, a mere translation of the Celtic name. (Mehlis, *op. cit.*, 59.) The first part of the word is probably derived from the River Pfrimm. (*Id.*)

Among the Tribocci Ptolemy mentions the towns of Brenkomagus and Elkebos.

Brenkomagus, like Noviomagus and Borbetomagus, is an undisputed Celtic gloss. The town is now represented by Brumt in Alsace, which in mediæval documents is named Brocmagad, Bruchmagat, Brumagad, and Pruemad. (Bachmeister, "Kelt. Briefe," 58.) A Bromagus (? Viromagus) occurs in the Celtic area of Switzerland. (Bachmeister, "Alem. Wand.," 23.)

Bachmeister connects the first syllable of Elkebos with the River Ill, a Celtic rivername which occurs in Ptolemy under the form Ilia in Britain ("Kelt. Briefe," 117), but this seems somewhat doubtful, and I do not see my way to a Celtic explanation of the name.

Let us now examine the account of the campaign of Ariovistus given by Cæsar. The country between the Jura and the Saône was occupied by the Sequani. Beyond the Saône was the land of the *Ædui*. Between the two tribes an old jealousy had existed; the *Æduti*, who were the *protégés* of the Romans, lorded it somewhat over their neighbours, and there was also a quarrel about the tolls on the River Saône. (Long's "Cæsar," 34.)

The Sequani allied themselves with the Arverni, and also with the Germans, who we are told at first crossed the River Rhine to the number of about 15,000. They speedily occupied the country, however, with a body numbering 120,000. The *Ædui* and their clients were terribly beaten, and lost all their nobles, their senate and their knights, and were compelled to give hostages to their rivals the Sequani. (Cæsar, I, 3.)

As Grimm points out, this passage shows that Ariovistus and his people came from the country of the Upper Rhine, since they were called in by the Sequani. ("Geschichte der Deutsh. Sprach." 345.)

The country of the Sequani was bounded by the Saône, the Rhone, the Jura and the Rhine. It comprised therefore the southern part of Elsass or the Suntgau on the Rhine, Franche Comté, part of Bourgogne and Brene, or the following departments, part of Haut Rhin, Haute Saône, Doubs, Jura, Aix, and part of Saône et Loire. (Long's "Cæsar," 72, note.) Divitiacus, entitled Vergobretus, the head of the *Ædui*, now repaired to Rome to ask assistance there for his countrymen, and there he met and had intercourse with Cicero. (*Id.*, 34.) Meanwhile the Sequani had speedy reason for repenting. Ariovistus demanded one third of their country for his people to settle in; and afterwards on the plea that he had only a few months before been joined by a body of 24,000 Harudes, who needed homes, he asked for another third of their country. When this was refused, he fought a terrible battle at Magetobria, where having vanquished the enemy, he ruled them in a cruel and harsh manner. (Cæsar, etc., I, 31.) These facts were told Cæsar, and we are also given in this same chapter an explanation of the attempted migration of the Helvetii, which had been prevented by Cæsar himself, namely, that they were afraid of the *German* invasion, and wished to move farther away.

Cæsar sent envoys to Ariovistus, and communications passed between them, in which the German chief by no means shows to disadvantage. Meanwhile envoys went to Cæsar from the *Ædui* complaining that the Harudes had already entered their borders, that is, had advanced beyond the Saône. Cæsar marched in all haste to prevent Ariovistus being reinforced by

the remaining Suevi, who were threatening to cross the Rhine into the land of the Treviri. When he approached the camp of the German chief, he sent him messengers, asking him to withdraw once more into his own country. He replied that he had not crossed the Rhine to please himself, but at the request of the Gauls, nor had he left home without severe sacrifices, etc., etc.; and he declined to go. The fight accordingly proceeded and eventually the Germans were terribly beaten; the battle in all probability being fought near Basle. A fearful slaughter followed, only a few escaping, among them being Ariovistus himself, who crossed the river in a small boat. We are told he had two wives, one a Suevan or Suabian, whom he had married at home, the other a Norican, the sister of Vuctio, the king of Noricum, who was sent to him, and whom he married after he entered Gaul. Both perished in the flight. Of his two daughters, one was killed and the other captured. When the news of this battle was reported beyond the Rhine, the Suevi, who had advanced as far as, and were threatening to cross over the river, returned homewards, and many of them were killed by the Ubii. (Long's "Cæsar," I, 54, note.) As Druman says, the question whether Gallia should be a German or a Roman province, was decided for some centuries by the campaign of B.C. 58. (Long, *id.*, 100, note.)

Let us now turn our attention once more to the immediate problem before us. Cæsar tells us that the Rhine divided the Helvetii from the Germans. (I, 2.) He also tells us in another place, that the Helvetii were like the Belgæ, braver than the other Gauls, inasmuch as they were engaged in constant struggles with the Germans. (I, 1.)

This proves that the country of Cæsar's Germans was in close proximity to the Helvetians, and in fact divided from them only by the Rhine; and as I have said, the country meant was evidently the country opposite the Sequani on the Upper Rhine; that is the modern Grand Duchy of Baden, once thickly planted with dark woods, the well known Schwarzwald of the maps.

The inhabitants of these woods and of this country I believe to have been the Nemetes or woodmen, and thus I explain the statement of Cæsar that the Hercynian forest commenced from the borders of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci. "Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus." (*Op. cit.*, VI, 25.) I agree with the argument of Mehlis (*op. cit.* 39), that Cæsar here implies that the Nemetes occupied the right bank of the Rhine; I therefore take the Duchy of Baden to be the old land of the Nemetes.

In regard to the Tribocci, who I have argued were a section of the Boii, I have already quoted the fact that an altar was

found at Marbach, with their name inscribed upon it (Zeuss, *op. cit.*, 121, note); I may add further, that Tacitus tells us in his "Germania" "that between the Hercynian Wood, the Maine, and the Rhine, there formerly dwelt the Helvetii and the Boii, both Gallic tribes." "Igitur inter Hercyniam silvam Rhenumque et Manum amnes, Helvetii ulteriora Boii Gallica utraque gens tenuere." (*Op. cit.*, VI, 25.)

This country then, the modern Würtemberg, may well have been the land of the Tribocci. The Vangiones, perhaps, lived further east in Bavaria.

The country beyond the Rhine comprised in the modern districts of Baden and Würtemberg, was largely comprised in the ancient territory known to the Romans as the Agri Decumates. The migration of the Nemetes and their two related tribes to the west of the Rhine, apparently left this district vacant, and it acquired the name of the Helvetic waste, by which name it was known to Ptolemy.

It was occupied eventually by adventurers from Gaul. (Tacitus, "Germania," xxix.) These settlers from paying tithes or tenths were styled Decumates. Cicero says all the soil of Sicily was decuman. "Omnis ager Siciliæ decumanus est." (Murphy's "Tacitus" VII, 308.) And Gibbon tells us that to protect these new subjects a line of frontier garrisons was gradually extended from the Rhine to the Danube. (*Op. cit.*, II, 46.) Niebuhr suggests that the existence of a place called Arae Flaviae on the military road from the Maine to Augsburg, proves that probably under Domitian the Romans had already taken possession of that "sinus imperii," and adds in a note, that Frontinus ("Strateg.," I, 3, 10) expressly describes the construction of the limes Romanus to Domitian. (Latham "Germania of Tacitus," 163.) This limes or fortified ditch extended from Neustadt on the Danube as far as Wimpfen on the Neckar, and on to the Rhine. There are still remains of this work between the bend of the Neckar and the upper part of the Altmühl in the neighbourhood of Ohringen. They can be again traced on the upper Altmühl, and re-appear on the Danube between Pforing and Kelheim. It is called the Teufel's Mauer or Devil's wall. (*Id.*, 104; Gibbon II, 46–77.)

This was long the great frontier rampart against the barbarians to the east and north. Tacitus tells us, as I have said, that it was settled by Gauls.

But we may go further. The land beyond the Rhine was an old Gallic land, according to the information collected by Cæsar. He tells us that the districts about the Hercynian forest, which were the most fertile, and whose fame was known to Eratosthenes and the Greeks, and which they called Orcynia, were occupied and settled by the Volcae Tectosages, who, he tells us,

still occupied this country in his day, and being surrounded with the same hard circumstances as the Germans, also emulated their martial qualities. (*Op. cit.*, VI, 2.) He argues that these Gauls were colonists who had crossed the Rhine; we, on the other hand, have good reasons for believing that, like the broken remnants of the Boii, &c., they were the original inhabitants of the South German area, and hold that the Volcae Tectosages, who lived in Gaul itself, about Toulouse, were colonists from the other side of the Rhine. These latter seem to have had close relations with the Cimbri and Teutones of earlier times. (See Long's "Cæsar," introduction, 30.) The presence of these Gauls in the Hercynian Forest in Cæsar's day, and the short mention of the Boii there which I have quoted from Tacitus, increases the probability that the Germans who lay between them and the Rhine in Baden, were partially of the Celtic stock, and not a pure Teutonic race, and were at least very different from the Teutonic Suevi of later days.

We have not yet exhausted the evidence pointing in the same direction.

Thus we are told by Cæsar, that he chose envoys to go to Ariovistus, who knew the Gallic tongue, "qua multa," he adds "jam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur." (I, 47.) These words are assuredly intelligible enough, if we consider Ariovistus as the king of a nation bordering closely on Gaul, and having close relations with it, but entirely incredible if we apply them to some leader of Suevic or true Teutonic blood, who would deem the language of the indigenes an unworthy object of attention.

It may be remarked as at least curious, that that not very accurate writer, Dion Cassius, makes Ariovistus a chief of the Allobroges, and calls his people Celtæ.

Again, of the two wives of Ariovistus, one was a Suabian, whom he married at home. The Suabians would be the next neighbours to his people south of the Maine. The other was a Norican princess; surely an improbable alliance for a chief of fierce Germans to make, not as the reward of some victory, but to be sent to him by her brother, when he, Ariovistus, was in Gaul; but most consistent if he was the chief of the border tribes of Vindelicia and Noricum, whose affinities were Celtic.

Lastly, we have the name Ariovistus; surely not a German name of the type of which we have an immense number of those chiefs who led the various invaders and enemies of the Roman Empire from Arminius to Charles the Great, but a name to be compared with a Celtic tribal name like Aravisci, and a Celtic place like Ariolica, the modern Pont Arlier in Switzerland.

I remember also reading somewhere of a Gallic chief, Beri-

bistes, the form of whose name is singularly like Arioistes, but I have mislaid my reference. For these various reasons, and, I take it, they far outweigh what may be urged on the other side, I cannot avoid the tentative conclusion that the Nemetes, Tribocci, and Vangiones were not of purely Teutonic origin, but more or less quasi Celtic.

Let us complete our account of them. Arioistus seems to have only survived his defeat a short time. His death is mentioned in Cæsar's Fifth book, chapter xxix, which describes the events of the year B.C. 54.

When the army of Arioistus was defeated, it would seem that the whole of his forces were not driven across the Rhine. A portion of the Tribocci at least remained behind; for he tells us in describing the course of the Rhine that it flowed through the territory of the Nantuates, the Helvetii, the Sequani, Mediomatrici, *Tribocci*, and Treviri. (*Op. cit.*, IV, 10.)

Here therefore he names the Tribocci between the Mediomatrici and Treviri. Long argues that the Mediomatrici originally held all the country between the Vosges and the Rhine, but were to some extent displaced by the invasion of the Tribocci, whose northern limit he fixes near Strasburg, and their southern one probably at Artzenheim near Markolsheim. (*Op. cit.*, 187, note.)

The next author who mentions the three tribes of whom we are writing, was Strabo, who was probably born about 60 B.C., and died A.D. 24. He probably wrote his "Geography" about A.D. 20 (Bohn's translation, preface iii, 1), and he tells us, "After the Helvetii, the Sequani and the Mediomatrici dwell along the Rhine, among whom are the Tribocci, a German nation, who emigrated from their country hither . . . After the Mediomatrici and Tribocci, the Treviri inhabit along the Rhine." (*Id.*, i, 288–289.)

Strabo does not name either the Nemetes or Vangiones, and unless the name Tribocci is used generically to include both those tribes, it would seem that they had not crossed the Rhine when he wrote.

Pliny is the next author who names them, and he mentions all three of them as German tribes living on the Rhine. (Pliny, IV, 17). This is what Tacitus in fact says. In contrasting them with certain quasi Germanic Gauls, he adds, "Ipsam ripam Rheni haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt Vangiones, Tribocci, Nemetes." ("Germania," XXVIII.) Ptolemy enables us to fix their sites by naming their chief towns, whose nomenclature we have already discussed. In addition to what I then said, I may add that Worms is made the chief town of the Vangiones by Ammianus Marcellinus, and in the "Notitia." (Zeuss, 219.)

The three tribes were henceforth comprised in the Roman province of Germania Prima, and became to all intents and purposes Roman citizens. Like the rest of the inhabitants of Gaul, they apparently became docile provincials of the Empire. This fact again militates against their having been real Teutons. Lastly, we may conclude with tolerable certainty that the greater part of the Teutonic inhabitants of the modern Elsass are descended not from them, but from the Alemanni.

Let us now consider some of the other tribes to whom Cæsar applied the designation of German, and begin with the northern confederacy of five tribes. We are told of the Eburones and Condrusi that they were clients of the Treviri (Cæsar, IV, 6), who did not differ much from the Germans in culture, &c. The Treviri were famous for their cavalry. (*Id.*, II, 24.) The interesting fact to us is that the Eburones and Condrusi were their clients. Clients, that is, of a Belgic tribe, and the greater part of the Eburones lived between the Rhine and the Maas (Cæsar, V, 24), and were the next neighbours of the Menapii. (*Id.*, VI, 5.) The modern towns of Tongres and Spa are within their borders. Their chief town was Aduatuca, the modern Tongres, showing that they were intruders into the country, from which they displaced the Aduatuci, their western neighbours. (*Id.*, V, 38; Zeuss, 213.) They were the most famous of the five tribes we are now dealing with. Their name is not of German etymology, but Celtic. It may be compared with that of the Aulerci *Eburvinces*, who gave their names to Evreux, etc. The names of the two chiefs of the Eburones who fought against Cæsar, namely Ambiorix and Cattivolcus, are, as Zeuss says, unquestionably Celtic. (Zeuss, 212, note.) Between the Eburones and the Treviri were the two tribes Segni and Condrusi. (Cæsar, LXI, 32.) The Segni were the Sinuci of Pliny; their name, as Long says, is probably preserved in the little town of Sinei or Signei, in the county of Namur. (Cæsar, 128, note.) The name of the Condrusi is no doubt preserved in that of the strip of country south of the Maas, and stretching from Namur towards Lüttich, which is still called Condroz and le Condros, the Pagus Condrosius, Condruseus, Condrust, Condorusts of mediæval times. (Zeuss, 213.) The Poemanni doubtless gave its name to the district of Famen, the Pagus Falmenna, and Pagus Falmenensis of mediæval writers. (Zeuss, 213; Long, *op. cit.*, 182, note.)

Lastly, the adjoining district, formerly called the Pagus Caroscus or Carascus, took its name from the Cæraesi. (Zeuss, 213.) The important thing for us however to notice, is that these names, so far as we can see, are all Celtic, and none of them German. This is admitted by the most exacting of German Ethnologists, Zeuss. The name Segni may be compared with

the Celtic names Segontiaci, Segovellanni, Segovii, Segugini, and Segusiani.

The first particle of Condrusi may be compared, as Zeuss says, with the Con in Conbennones, and Consuanetes, while the second half of the name is clearly Celtic. Speaking of the name Drusus, Cicero says, "Pronepos est Drusi qui primus cognomen hoc ab interfecto Druso, Gallorum duce, tulit." (Cic. "Brut," 28.) Ceresium and Ciresium occur as names of Gallic places (Zeuss, 212), and may be accepted as traces of the Cæresi. Lastly, the manni in Poemanni; as I shall show afterwards, has claims to be a Celtic gloss.

We thus find that such evidence as we can adduce makes the most northern Germani of Cæsar if not pure Celts, as they clearly were not, at least considerably affected with Celtic affinities.

Cæsar first came into conflict with the Eburones in B.C. 54. We are told by him that he planted a legion and five cohorts in winter quarters in the country of the Eburones, who for the most part lived between the Maas and the Rhine, and were ruled by Ambiorix and Cativoleus. These troops were commanded by Q. Titutrius Sabinus and Lucius Aurunculeius Cotta. (*Op. cit.*, V, 24.) The two chiefs of the Eburones were induced by Indut'omarus, the chief of the Treviri, whose clients they were, to attack the Roman camp. They were badly beaten, upon which they asked for a parley, at which Ambiorix addressed the Romans, and said that what had been done had been against his wish and advice; he having special reasons to be grateful to Cæsar for having relieved them from the tribute they had formerly to pay to the Aduatuci, and for having liberated his son and nephew who were detained by the Aduatuci as hostages. The cause of the strife was the policy of the Gauls, which was to have a perpetual feud with the Romans, and to attack separate legions or otherwise, and that it was impossible for one tribe to stand out against the common policy. He also warned them that they might be joined by a large contingent of Germans from beyond the Rhine. (*Id.*, V, 2.) The Eburones were evidently a weak tribe, and are referred to as "civitatem ignobilis atque humilem Eburonum." (*Id.*, 28.) The Romans having held a council, determined to retire from the country of the Eburones, but on their way through the woods they were attacked and terribly cut to pieces; a portion only returning in safety to their camp. The two commanders perished. (*Id.*, 36-37.) Ambiorix now marched into the country of the Aduatuci and Nervii, and urged them to a common action against the Romans. Envoy's were also sent to summon the Centrones, Grudii, Levaci, Pleumoxi, and Geiduni, who were subjects of the Nervii. The confederates marched to attack the winter

quarters of Cicero, which they assaulted night and day. Presently the Nervii made overtures to Cicero, but it was not the Roman habit to make any terms with an armed enemy. (*Id.*, 41.) They accordingly determined to hem him in, and built a huge ditch 15 feet wide, and a vallum 9 feet high, so as to enclose him and his army. On the seventh day of the siege they fired the camp by means of burning missiles. They then attempted an assault, but were repulsed with loss. But things were growing desperate, and the Romans sent letters to Cæsar; these were carried by a Nervian named Verticus. When Cæsar received the news, he immediately sent word to Labienus to march into the country of the Nervii; C. Fabius to enter that of the Atrebates, and M. Crassus to march against the Bellocaci, while he himself marched quickly to join Labienus. He sent letters to Cicero, written in Greek, so that they might not be of service to the enemy if waylaid. The confederated tribes having heard of Cæsar's advance, now marched to oppose him. He defeated them in a serious struggle, and speedily released his lieutenant. (*Id.*, 51–52.) Meanwhile the Treviri were badly beaten, and their chief Indutiomarus was killed. Ambiorix now became the head of the Gallic confederacy, and in B.C. 53, he summoned to arms the Nervii, Aduatuci, Menapii, and the Cis-Rhenane Germans, *i.e.*, the Eburones, etc. Cæsar entered the country of the Nervii with four legions, with which he ravaged their lands and exacted hostages; he then returned. Ambiorix found shelter among the Menapii, while the Treviri summoned the Trans-Rhenane Germans to their help. Cæsar compelled the Menapii to submit and to give hostages. Labienus at the same time marched against and defeated the Treviri, while the Germans who had gone to their assistance went home again, *i.e.*, crossed the Rhine (6, 7); and Cæsar having himself marched into the land of the Treviri, determined to cross the Rhine to punish the Germans who had assisted the Treviri, and to prevent Ambiorix from taking shelter among them. (*Id.*, 9.)

The latter was again among his own people, and Cæsar having made a demonstration across the Rhine, did not fail to pursue him; and he sent on L. Minucus Basilus with the cavalry to penetrate the Ardennes. The people of Ambiorix were surprised, and by his advice some were sheltered in the marshes, and others in the woods and the islands on the coast. Cativolcus, the joint chief with Ambiorix, who was too old to work, fight, or fly, having cursed his colleague for bringing so much misery on his country, poisoned himself. (*Id.*, VI, 3.) The Segni and Condrusi now sent envoys to Cæsar, praying him not to confound them with the other Cis-Rhenane Germans, with whom they had not taken part in the recent war. He sent orders to them not to

give asylum to the Eburones if they wished to be spared, and having collected all his forces he marched upon Aduataca, the capital of the Eburones, and almost in the middle of their country. He divided his army into three sections. One he sent under Labienus northwards against the Menapii; another under C. Trebonius to ravage the country of the Aduatuci; while he with the rest marched towards the Sambre, where Ambiorix had taken refuge. There were no fortresses or towns to capture, and the people were everywhere scattered and apparently almost destroyed; the neighbouring tribes were summoned to plunder and spoil the Eburones, a work in which the Germans beyond the Rhine were eager enough to join; and we read that 2,000 Sigambri joined in harrying their relatives the Eburones. They crossed the Rhine in rafts and boats 30 miles below the bridge; they captured a large number of cattle, and intercepted many of the fugitives. Learning that Cæsar was some distance away with his legions, and had left but a poor garrison behind at Aduatua, they determined to surprise that station, and to capture the booty there collected. They deposited what they had themselves secured in a wood, and then proceeded to besiege the fortress; but they failed to capture it after a brave attempt, and accordingly withdrew with their booty. On Cæsar's return, he proceeded systematically to ravage the country; all the villages and houses he could find were burnt, their cattle were driven off; their corn was consumed by the men and beasts, and laid by the rains, so that if any of the enemy had concealed themselves they must have died of hunger when the Roman army was withdrawn. Ambiorix himself was pursued from hiding-place to hiding-place with the greatest pertinacity. The hunters took prisoners who reported they had just seen the king; but it was all in vain. He eluded their grasp, and with an escort of but four men, managed to escape from marsh to forest and forest to marsh, and finally to get away. (*Op. cit.*, VI.)

Two years later, namely in B.C. 51, disappointed apparently at not being able to catch his prey, Cæsar having once more entered the territory of Ambiorix, ravaged what remained mercilessly in all directions, slaughtering a great number of the inhabitants. (VIII, 24–25).

Long compares this terrible campaign of Cæsar's with those of Europeans against African savages and Indian rebels. It seems to have well nigh, if not completely, exterminated the Eburones, who now disappear from history, and Cæsar thus revenged the slaughter of his men and the treachery of the Germans. (*Op. cit.*, note to chapter xliii, Book VI.)

The Eburones disappear from history, as I have said, and were

replaced by the Tungri. The mention of the Tungri carries us across the Rhine, where we have some other of Cæsar's Germans to consider.

Immediately north of the Maine were the Ubii.

The Ubii are first mentioned by Cæsar in the year B.C. 55. He tells us they were the next neighbours to the Suevi, who bounded them on one side; he describes them as forming a large and flourishing nation, as it were the head of the Germans. (*caput Germanorum.*) They bordered on the Rhine, and were consequently more cultivated than the other Germans, being nearer to Gaul, and more visited by traders. They had been much harassed by the Suevi, who, although they had not succeeded in expelling them from their country, had yet made them tributary. (*Op. cit.*, IV.3.) They applied accordingly to Cæsar to send them assistance. (*Id.* 16.) When Cæsar made his famous bridge cross the Rhine, one end of it was placed in the country of the friendly Ubii. (Long's "Cæsar," 18 note.) North of them were the Sigambri, another German tribe. (*Id.* 18.) Cæsar, having crossed the river, liberated the Ubii from their dependence on the Suevi, and promised them assistance. (*Id.* 12.)

The land of the Ubii was situated opposite to that of the Treviri, and probably extended from the Maine in the south, to the borders of the Sigambri, in the north.

The Ubii also migrated to the west of the Rhine, thus imitating the example of the three tribes we have described. Strabo tells us they were moved across the Rhine by Agrippa with their own consent. (Book IV, chapter iii, §. 44.) Tacitus also mentions this migration both in the "Annals" and the "Germania." In the former he tells us that, having crossed the Rhine, they did allegiance to Agrippa, the grandfather of Agrippina. ("Annales" xii, 27.) In the "Germania" he tells us they were transferred across the Rhine ut arcerent, non ut custodirentur. (*Op. cit.*, xxviii.) Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, having been born in their chief town, it was made a Roman colonia, and named after her, *Colonia Agrippinensis*, now the famous city of Cologne, while the Ubii were styled *Agrippinenses*. (Zeuss, 88.)

They stretched northwards as far the Ardennes, and their frontier town was Gelduba (the modern village of Geldub, near Kaiserswert); another of their towns was Tolbiacum (Zulpich). (Zeuss, 88.)

Their close alliance with the Romans, and antagonism to the Suevi, and the close relations they apparently had with the Treviri, point to their having had other than purely Teutonic affinities. Their name seems to me to be a distinctly Celtic gloss, and to be the same word forming the second element in the names Danubius, Mandubii, Esubii, Gelduba, Abnoba.

Cæsar seems to use the name generically, and his phrase "fuit civitas ampla atque florens," shows that the Ubii, in his mind, were a very important race. Nor is it likely that, being so, they should have all been transferred across the Rhine and been comprised in the Roman *colonia*. It must be remarked also, as Zeuss has pointed out, that when they migrated across the Rhine, they occupied seats to the north of their former territory. On these grounds, I am disposed to believe that only a section of the race migrated westward, and that the rest remained behind under some other name. This section I am disposed to identify with the Catti or Chatti, a famous generic name of tribes occupying the old land of the Ubii and the country further east, of whom the Mattiaci were probably a section. I hope to revert to these Catti in a future paper. Here I would merely remark on the fact, that the name is apparently Celtic. The difficulty of explaining it from German sources is shown by the curious etymology of Leibnitz, who would derive it from cat, the race being so called because of its agility. I believe, on the contrary, that it is derived from the Celtic *coit*, a wood, and that, like Kherusci, it means merely the woodmen.

The mention of the Catti leads us naturally to say a word or two about the Batavi, who lived in Cæsar's time on the island formed by the Rhine and the Waal, and which was known as the "insula Batavorum." Tacitus tells us they were a section of the Catti who had migrated after a domestic feud ("Germania," xxix.) As they are named specifically by Caesar, it is clear that this migration had taken place when he wrote. It is further clear that the Catti, although not mentioned by him *eo nomine*, were then existent in Germany. The fact of his not naming them has given rise to many surmises, among others the most popular is that they were the same people whom he names Suevi.

To this I altogether demur. The Suevi were a very distinct section of the Teutonic race, nor do we find any trace of Suevic occupancy on the Lower Rhine. In favour of their being connected with the Ubii, I may mention that the name Batavi was preserved in the Gau name Batua, and the two districts of Over and Nether Betuwe, and that the ua or uwe of these names seems distinctly connected with the name Ubii. Again, within the territory of the Ubii was the modern district of Nassau or Nassavi, a name formed on the same principle, and whose latter portion is identical with the latter portion of Batavi. I may add that the ancient *Danubius* has become *Donau* in modern German, as Nassavi or Nassuvi has become Nassau. Again, between the land of the ancient Ubii and the island of the Batavians, we find a tribe bordering on the Rhine

called Hattuarii, *i.e.*, Hat-were, or the people of the Catti. We also find Batti and Subatti in the old Ubian territory, and a place called Battenburg, on the Eder.

These facts make me inclined to identify very closely the Ubii with the Catti. The Batavi, as I have said, were a section of the Catti. The curious fact I wish to draw your attention to is, that the towns which we know to have been planted among the Batavi bore distinctly Celtic names. Thus we have Lugdunum, the modern Leyden, which bore the same name as the capital of the Provincia, the modern Lyons; Trajectum, the modern Utrecht and Batavodurum, whose termination durum is most characteristically Celtic.

One section of the Batavi is called Canninefates, a name very unlike Teutonic names, but singularly in form like Atrebates; and although it is the fashion to give Betuwe a Teutonic etymology, and to explain it as the good land, there are others who would explain it as a Celtic gloss.

It is a curious fact about the Batavi, that they were so faithful to their Roman allies; we find their contingents serving constantly in the Roman armies, and they are called "fratres et amici" in Roman inscriptions. (Zeuss, 103.) This fact also militates against their being of purely Teutonic descent.

Let us now turn to two other tribes who occupy a considerable place in Cæsar's narrative, namely the Usipetes and Tencteri, both of whom he describes as Germans, and as driven foward by attacks of the Suevi.

The name Usipetes has a distinctly Celtic termination, like Nemetes. This is the plural particle *et*. Zeuss long ago pointed this out, and the name divested of this becomes simply Usipii or Uispia. It survives undoubtedly, as Grimm has suggested, in the modern name Wiesbaden; Tencteri resembles in its termination Bructeri, in each case *eri* being qualifying pendants to the names; the former of which occurs at Tungri, whence Tongres, and the latter as Brocmanni. Sections of both tribes are placed by Ptolemy in the country of the Ubii or its borders, and it is very probable that they formed a portion of the same race.

Cæsar tells us that the Usipetes, and also the Tencteri, having been for many years molested and attacked by the Suevi, were at length driven from their country, and having wandered about in various places in Germany for a space of three years, came to that part of the Rhine inhabited by the Menapii, and not far from where the river falls into the sea, (Cæsar, VI, 1–4.) This was in the year B.C. 56.

The Menapii who occupied both banks of the river, transferred their people to the left bank, and posted guards to prevent the

fugitives from crossing. As they had no boats the latter were constrained to return once more to the south. (*Id.*, IV.) The Menapii having returned to their homes on the right bank of the river, the Tencteri and Usipetes returned again quickly and surprised them, and seized their boats, with which they crossed the river. (*Id.*) At this time therefore it would appear that the Batavian island was occupied by the Menapii. Presently the fugitives advanced still further on the west of the Rhine, into the country of the Eburones and Condrusi, and as far as the borders of the Treviri. Their envoys told Cæsar how they had been driven from their homes, and asked him to give them fresh fields to settle in, or to grant them those which they already occupied. Cæsar refused the request, but said he did not object to their passing over into the country of the Ubii, from whom envoys had also gone to him to complain of the attacks of the Suevi. As the Ubi would not consent to this, they had sent a portion of their cavalry across the Maas to forage. Cæsar attacked the remaining portion of their army, defeated them, and drove them to the confluence of the Rhine and Maas, where they were destroyed. That section which had crossed the Maas on hearing of this, hastened eastwards and crossed the Rhine into the land of the Sigambri, with whom they allied themselves. (*Id.*, VI, 16.) Cæsar sent to demand their surrender, but they replied that the Roman dominion stopped at the Rhine, and that the Romans had no rights on the other bank. (16.) Cæsar was not to be thus bearded; he constructed the well-known bridge across the river, and appeared in the country of the Sigambri. The latter meanwhile had persuaded their dangerous guests the Tencteri and Usipetes to leave their land, and to seek shelter in the forests and wastes. (*Id.*, 18.) Having spent a few days in their country and ravaged it, Cæsar passed into that of the Ubii, to whom he promised succour if they should be molested by the Suevi. The latter, who had heard of Caesar's campaign, ordered a general evacuation of their settlements; arranged that their wives and children should take refuge in the woods, and that their young men capable of bearing arms should assemble in one place to await and repel the Roman attack. But he returned in a few days back into Gaul, having accomplished what he wished, namely, the punishment of the Sigambri, the freeing of the Ubii from their vassalage, and the making of a display of his power to the Germans. (*Id.*, 19.)

From this account we gather two important facts; first, that the Usipetes and Tencteri were closely related to the Sigambri; and secondly, that they settled down in the country east of the Rhine, and in close neighbourhood to that tribe. I have small doubt that only a predatory force crossed the Rhine into the

country of the Menapii, and that the main body of the nation remained and settled down in the various districts of Holland.

For the next notice we have of the movement of these tribes, we are indebted to a late writer, namely Procopius, who tells us how the Tungri, *i.e.*, the Tencteri, crossed over and settled in their new quarters west of the Rhine, in the time of Augustus. "Secundum quos ad orientum Tungri barbari concessam sibi ab Augusto imperatorum primo regionem incolebant." (Procopius, "Bell. Goth.", I, 12.) ("Histoire des Carolingiens, Warnkoeing, and Gerard," I, 4.) They settled in South Brabant and the neighbouring districts, and gave its new name to Aduatuca, which was afterwards known as Tongres. Pliny tells us that Spa was within their territory. Tacitus tells us that those who first crossed the Rhine were then called Tungri, and afterwards Germani.

The name occurs in other forms, thus, Gregory of Tours calls them Thoringians, *i.e.* Thuringians ("Hist. Franc." I, II, chap. ix.) He also tells us that the old Frank king Clodion, lived at Dispar-gum, on the borders or within the pagus of the Thuringians. It has been read either way, the expression being "in termino Thoringorum" ("Warnk." etc., 40.)

Another form of the name I believe most firmly, is Toxandri. The name occurs in Pliny for the first time. He tells us merely that they dwelt beyond the Scheldt under various names. (Pliny "Nat. Hist.", IV, 17.) Their name still survive in the village of Tessenderloo, close to Diest, already mentioned, and, therefore, if they were not identical with the Tungri, they were next neighbours. But I believe them to have been the same people; for, while Pliny does not seem to mention the Tungri in his general description of Germany, Tacitus does not name the Toxandri. It was common to get rid of the nasal ng or nk, thus Franki was altered into Frakki, etc., and it may well be that Toxandri was a Celtic corruption of Tungri. The former gave their name to the Gau of Toxandria, which comprised the present districts of Campine and Kempen, north of Limburg.

All the Tencteri did not, however, cross the Rhine, nor yet the Usipetes, but I hope to treat of them as well as of the Sigambri and of their neighbours in a future paper on the Catti.

My object in the present paper has been to call attention to certain points in the ethnography of the early Germans, of which sufficient notice has not been hitherto taken, namely, of the very marked influence the Celts must have had in their composition or constitution. It will be admitted that the facts I have adduced merit some explanation. To find the names of all the towns within the borders of certain of these tribes of Celtic etymology, to find that they were led by chiefs of Celtic race,

may mean no more than that, in the one case they had overrun and appropriated a Celtic area; in the south the territory of the Mediomatici, and in the north probably that of the Morini and Menapii; while, in the other case, it may be that the chiefs were of different race to their followers, or bore names given them by their mothers, who may have been Celts.

On the other hand, it may be, as I believe, and as everyone will, I fancy, conclude, who has compared the flaxen-haired, and very purely Teutonic Frisians with the black-haired Dutch and Flemings, in their own country, that the latter are essentially a very mixed race, and that the facts I have mentioned are so many factors in the proof of their being so. I only offer my conclusions as tentative ones, and hope to prosecute the inquiry further on another occasion, when I hope also to be able to profit by the criticism which these remarks may call forth.

Mr. Atkinson exhibited for the Rev. C. J. Roger, rubbings from a Runic inscription in Cunningsburgh Churchyard, and an Ogham inscription from Lunnaclint, Shetland Isles.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for the above, and the meeting separated.

The following paper was read on the 10th of April, as mentioned, p. 125 of the *Journal*.

AUSTRALIAN LANGUAGES AND TRADITIONS.

To the Honourable the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales.

SIR,

I have the honour to lay before you, as a supplement to my reports on the Aboriginal Languages and Traditions, the following additional information recently obtained from different quarters. The reports transmitted in 1871, for which I had the honour of receiving the thanks of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, were as I am informed, welcomed as a contribution to philological and ethnological science, and I believe those who were interested in the former reports will prize the information here given, especially that furnished by the Rev. Charles Greenway, of Bundarra, in the north-western district of this colony. Mr. Greenway has been acquainted with "Kamilaroi" from his youth, and both as a philologist

and as a minister of the Christian Faith has taken a deep interest in the welfare of the aborigines and in researches concerning them.

N.B.—The letters are used as in my former reports; ā as a in father, ē as ey in obey, ī as in marine, ū as oo in moon, ai for the sound of eye, ao as ow in how, y and ð for the sound of ng in ring. G has always the hard sound as in go.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Rev. C. C. Greenway, on Kamaroi	233
Mr. Thomas Honery, on Wailwun or Ziumba	246
Mr. MacDonald, on the Natives of the Page and the Isis	255
Mr. John Rowley, on the Language of Georges River	258
Malone (half-castes), on the Language of Sydney, and Illawarra	262
Dr. Creed, M.L.A., on the North Coast	266

KAMILAROI LANGUAGE AND TRADITIONS. By Rev. CHARLES C. GREENWAY.

I. NOUNS.

Man, kiwirr.

Woman, yīna or yīnar.

Boy, beri (boys, beriberī).

Girl, miai (girls, miaimiai).

Child, ghai or kai.

Infant, kaipal (hence the verb kaijuni, to bring forth).

Youth, that is young man having yet boyhood, beridūl.

Maid, young woman having yet girlhood, miaidūl.

Young woman whose breasts appear, yamūrawūri ; from yamūr, breast, and wūrūr, swelling.

Father, būbā.

Mother, ñumbā.

Spouse, wife or husband, kolīa.

Elder brother, tai-ārdi.

Younger brother, kullami.

Sister, bō-wārdi.

Son, wūrumi ; wūrūr, filling (the arms).

Daughter, yāmūrr (borne at the breast).

Uncle, karodi.

Childless one, meraidūl ; merai, borne of, dūl (diminutive possessive).

Unmarried man or woman, kolīa-tāliba (wife or husband-less).

Spirit, demon, or white man, wundah.

[The Aborigines thought white men to be spirits. "Guram"]

is used by a coast tribe, with the same signification; and "bukra" by the African negroes.]

Head, gha or ghah.

Hair (of head), kaogha.

Hair (of the moustache), buti.

Hair of the moustache, būtibri (with conjunctive affix ri).

Chin, or beard on chin, yari.

Tooth or teeth, yira.

Eye or eyes, mil.

Ear or ears, bīna, or binar, or wūta.

[In one tribe "wuta" is the act of hearing, and "bina," in the ear. Yaia wūta = I hear. In another "bina" is the act of hearing, and "wūta" the ear: thus yaia binanalli = I hear.]

Knee, dhinbirr.

Bones, būra or būrar.

Nails (of hands or feet), yūtū.

Tongue, thuli, or tahli.

Ribs, tura.

Vein, beran.

Breast, yamū.

Nose, mūrū.

Hand or hands, murra.

Foot or feet, dhina or dīna.

Arm, būyūm.

Shoulder, walor.

Thigh, turra.

Leg (below the knee), būyū.

Loins, ghūlūr.

[Ghūlūr, or ghula, also signifies the girdle or waist belt].

Skin, yūlī.

Blood, gūi or gūë.

Forehead, yūtu.

Head band, yūlūghet.

Left hand side, warragal.

Right hand side, turial.

Kangaroo, bundarr.

Sheep, jimba (*i.e.*, jumper, no native name).

Kangaroo rat, gūnūrr.

Paddy-melon, merūrra.

Striped iguana, yūliāli.

Opossum, mūti.

Horse, yerāman (yera or yīra = teeth, man = with).

Horned cattle, nulkainulka.

Milking cows, millimbrai (suffix rai, belonging to).

BIRDS, TIGHARA.

Eagle hawk, mullian.

Owl (having a cry like its name), būkūtākūtā.

Crow, whārō.

Pelican, gūlambūlāin or guliah (from guli = net or fish bag, and affix ali = having).

Laughing jackass or great kingfisher, kūkūburra or ghūkūghagha.

Emu, dhinawan or yūrī (dhina = foot, wan = strong).

Native companion, burah gha (booral = large, gha = head).

Black duck, kurraanghi.

Wood duck, gūnambi.

White cockatoo, morai.

Squatter, or white-cheeked pigeon, mūnūmbi.

Crested pigeon, gūlūwilil.

Bronze-wing pigeon, tāmūr (or tahmoor).

Cockatoo pigeon (a small grey pigeon), wirriah.

Very small green parrot, ghidjirighā.

ANIMALS (not fish nor birds), AHI.

Ground lizard (ruffed), būllawhākūr.

Iguana (tree climber), tūli (tree = tūlū).

Brown or grey snake, nibi.

Black snake, nurai.

Carpet snake, not venomous, yebba.

Hedgehog, murrowal or buttah.

FISH, GŪYA.

Cod, kūdū (very large kind, kūkūbul).

Perch (jew fish or black fish), kumbal.

Herring (abundant in the Barwon), cheringā.

Mussels (large), tunghal.

Mussels (small kind), kinbi.

Lobsters, or large shrimps, kīrī.

INSECTS, KAO.

Mosquito, munjin.

Bug, bhuttha.

Flea, biriji.

Red stingless ant, karlan.

Bee, warrūl (the word also means honey).

TREES, PLANTS, &c.

Oak, bila, or bilarr (hence bilarr = spear, made of oak).

Sandalwood (and what is made of it), kārrwi.

- Pine, gorārī (high).
 Accacia pendula, burri (hence burrīn = shield).
 Kurrajong (and lines or cords made of it), nunin.
 Edible flag (in swamps), būrara.
 Mistletoe, bhan.
 Wild orange or guava, bumbūl, or bumble.
 Other trees, ghidyir and mulka.
 Wood, tūlū (also a spear).
 Trunk or stem, warrun (warina = standing).
 Branches (arms), bupun.
 Main branches (thighs), turra.
 Bark, tūra.
 Skin-bark, bōwar.
 Leaves, karril.
 House, gundi.
 Resting-place, camp, native place, tuckramah.
 Clear place, killū.
Mud, millimilli.
 Sun, yarrai.
 Moon, gilli.
 Stars, miri.
 Sky, gūnakulla.
 Cloud, kūnda.
 Water, kolli.
 ,, kurup.
 ,, wallon.
 Fire, wi.
 Daylight, yurran.
 Darkness, yūrū.
 Night, būlūi.
 Smoke, toh, or dhū.
 Dust, yū.
 Morass, marlawah (a place difficult to walk through).
 Net or bag, gulag.
 Net or girdle, gulür.
 Yard or enclosure, whunmul.
 Door (what shuts out), ghirinal.
 Hook, yinab (hence yinabi = caught).
 Thistle, kurraman.
 Grass, ghorarr.
 Herbs, ghian.
 Sword, kutilan (corruption of cutlass).
 Axe, yündū.
 Stone, yarral.
 Mountain, kobba or kubba.
 Hill, tiyūl.

Plain, gūnial.

Long plain, swamp or glade, gorahman.

River (large), bukhi.

Rivulet, maian.

Water-course, including trees along the banks, warumbui.

Flood, wūkawā.

Rain, yuron.

Thunder, tūlūmi.

Lightning, mī.

The wind rises, miar dūri.

The Pleiades, Miaimiai, or Mūrūnmūran.

Orion, Beriberi.

[N.B.—The Pleiades are "the girls," Orion "the boys."]

Venus, Zajjikindamawā (*i.e.*, I am laughing. Sometimes they call Venus "ḥindikindaoa," or "ḥindikindamawa," you are laughing. She has been their goddess of laughter").

Tail, or any pendant, dun, or dhūn.

Cap, kabūmdi or kabukan, a corruption of the English.

Fat, ghorī.

Lean, bunnārr.

Belts or pendants round the waist, tubilka.

The milky-way, warrumbūl, also burribeaudūl.

[The milky-way is a watercourse and grove abounding in all delights, to which good men go when they die].

Food, yūl.

Water vessel, walbon (from wallum = water).

Seed basket or bucket, kūlūman (from kūlū = seed).

The place of Initiation into manhood, burah.

[There the būrr, or mystic cord is used, and the initiated is invested with the būrr or belt of manhood.]

Gooseberry-like fruit, gīban.

Red-stone fruit, goēdtha, or guadtha, or warroba.

[This fruit grows in the scrubs of the Darling and Namoi. It is red, and outwardly resembles a Siberian crab. It tastes like tamarind. The stones are much used as ornaments. The word is from gui = blood, or red.]

ADJECTIVES.

Clothed with fur, tūrūnbrai.

Clothed with feathers, wirilarai,

Stinking, hateful, nui.

Small (as a hair) buti, or būtiandūl.

Small (as a child) khaiaudūl, ghaiandūl, or ghaidūl.

Slow, lazy, bullawa.

Quick, eager, kiahbar.

- Large, expansive, mungūl.
 Angry, sharp, yili.
 Bald, bare, balal (balal kawga = bald-head).
 Bare, destitute of anything, childless, or hungry, mirade or merāid.
 [Foodless, nubal, merāid, fireless, merāde wī; taliba also means "destitute."]
 Kolia-taliba = without a spouse.
 Wi-taliba = without fire.
 Kolle-taliba = without water.
 Strong (standing against attack), warringal.
 Tall (long), gorah.
 Tall (high), kuddo.
 Sick, weary, wibil, or burning with pain, wiwi.
 Ugly, nasty, vile, kah-ghil.
 Bitter, stinking, bhutah or butta.
 Sweet, nice, beautiful, murrabā.
 Good, honest, desirable, well conducted, koppa.
 Tired, worn, sore, iughil.
 Tired, slow, knocked-up, marlo.
 [Marlo yai ghini = I'm knocked-up.]
 Afraid, alarmed, faint-hearted, ghil ghil, from ghi, the heart.
 Cowardly (inclined to cry out for fear), gurri gurri.
 Grey, old, dira, or dhira.
 Old fellow, man, woman or brute, dīradūl.
 Stupid, deaf, cross, obstinate, wambah.
 Sensible, hearing, bīnal (from binar, the ear).
 Dead, bālumi, or balo, or bhalo.
 [Wi baloni = the fire is gone out.]
 Angry, yili, or yilian.
 White, bulah or bhullah.
 A white thing, bhulladūl.
 Black, dark, būlūi.
 A black thing, būluidūl.
 Fasting, or bound, from religious considerations, to abstain from certain food, bunall.

NAMES OF PLACES.

- Collemungool, or Kollemungūl, a station on the Barwon; from kolle (water), mungul (expansive) = Broadwater.
 Koorongorah, or Kūrūngorā = Longwater.
 Wallongorah also means Longwater.
 Drilldool (a corruption of Tarildūl) = reedy, from taril = reed
 Tarilarai, having or abounding in reeds.

- Yalaroi (a corruption of Yarralairai) = stony, from yarral, stone or rock, and arai, possessive affix.
- Bukkulla, place of the leopard-wood tree, or Australian ash.
- Moorkoodool, Mūrdūdūl, place of oaks (mūrkū).
- Wee Waa, or Wi Wā, fire thrown down; from wi (fire) wha (thrown).
- Gundimyan, or Gündimaian, house (gundi), on the river (maian).
- Breega, or Birīja, or Birījī, or Birīdyā, place of fleas.
- Pokotaroo, or Bukkitārō, river (bukki), going (aro) wide or far.
- Piliga, or Bilagha, scrub oak (bilā), point or head (gha).
- Gramau, i.e., gorah mahn, long plain or glade.
- Warra, left-handed, i.e., on the way from Murrurundi.
- Barwon (river), great, wide, awful.
- Brewarrina, Burī warina tree (*accacia pendula*) standing up.
- Briglow, Burreeagal, burree (tree), gal (related to); buriagalah, habitat (ah) of the burreeagal.
- Namoi, or yuni, or yamū, breast. The river is curved like a woman's breast.
- Goyder, or Guiādā (river); red (gui), banks, (ā) place of.
- Gooneewaraldi, or gunyawaraldi, white stone spread.
- Bogabri, or Bukkibrai, place of rivers or creeks.
- Gunedah, or Gunidā, place of white stone (gūni).
- Culgoa, running through, or returning.
- Cobbedah, or Kobadā, place of a hill.
- Manilla (river), or Munilā, round about. (Munilā yai yāni = I go round about.) This river makes almost a circle, and returns to the Upper Namoi.
- Millee, or Mili, white (from pipe-clay, silicate of magnesia).
- Tooloodoona, or Tūlūdūna, made (with a chisel) of wood, as a spear.
- Coghill, or Kugil, bad, nasty (water).
- Pallal or Balal (on the Horton), bare. This station is remarkable for bare patches, rocks, &c.
- Bundarrā, the place of kangaroos.
- Molroy, properly Murrowalarai, abounding in murrowal (hedge-hogs).

VERBS.

- To chop (with an axe), bhai or bai; chopped = baialda.
- To cut (as by a saw), kurrila.
- To cut (with a knife), or to skin, bhi or bhini.
- To thrust, or stick (as with a spear), dūni.
- To hoist, as cord, wirī.
- To pour out, spill, yahree, or yari.

- To spread, let out, whārū, or wārrū.
 Cease, stop, desist, kurria (kurria goalda = cease talking).
 Be quiet, let go, don't, tahbaa, or tubia.
 To see, yumilli (yai yumilli, I see; yunna yumilli = I am seen).
 To want, yin (hence yulpin = I am hungry, I want food (yup), kollo yai yin = I am thirsty, or I want water).
 To mind, guard, watch, yuminil-mali.
 To drink, to absorb, yurrūghi.
 To eat, to swallow, taldini or tuldini (tul = tongue).
 To hear, winungalli.
 Rise, get up, (imper. warrea).
 To catch, kunmulli (imper. kunmulla).
 To rob or take by force, karramulli (imper. karamulla).
 To make (in any way), ghimabilli.
 To make, or shape by chopping, bhaiallu (imper. bhaiamulla).
 To split, bharuni (I split the wood, tulū yai bharūni).
 To dig, or serape out (a pit), moaghi.
 To draw out (as to milk a cow), nūnmulli.
 To suck (the breast), yāmūgh.
 To taste (from talli or tulli = tongue), tatulli.
 To blow (as to smoke a pipe), būbilli (yai būbilline = I am smoking).
 To ask, or inquire of, taialdini.
 To carry, or bear off, kārgī (imper. kargilla, or kalghilina).
 To catch (as a fish with hook), yenā billi (imper. yenābilla).
 To thrust through with a spear, dūrilli.
 To sew (with a needle), ningilli or piyilli.
 To strike, knock down, overthrow, būnialli.
 To stand up (as a man or a tree), waddlini, or warrum (imper. warruna).
 To enter (as one stream into another, or water into a vessel), yarimulli or yarūmulli (imper. yarrayarra ; yardlina, it does pour into).
 To sit, yārī (imper. yāria).
 To swim, kūbi.
 To take up, lift, djeamulli (imper. djeamulla).
 To call, to shout, khakulli (imper. khakulla).
 To weep, to wail, yūghi.
 To rejoice, to dance, yūgāli.
 To laugh, or make fun, kindāmi, or kurdāinulli.
 To walk, tarrawulli.
 To climb, ascend, kulhae.
 To hear, winnugalli.
 Get up (imper. warria).
 To sing, baoilli.

ADVERBS.

- To-morrow, *gūrūkas* (night over).
 Some time hence, *yerāl* or *yerarl*.
 Yesterday, *ghimiandi* (past day).
 Very long ago, or very far off, *gāribū*.
 Near, close, *kuimbū*.
 Immediately, *yelaaho*, or *yilhaatho*.
 There, beyond, *gutta*.
 Here, *nialli*.
 Far (distant in space or time), *berū*, or *berūji*.
 In this place at any side or cheek, *nabū*, or *nabbū*.

PRONOUNS.

- I, *gai*.
 We two, *galli*.
 Mine, our own, our tribe, our land, *ghūryugun*.

SUFFIXES.

Arai or *rai* signifies possession, and has the sense of ours. Thus *yīna-arai* = having a wife; *kolia-arai* = having a spouse; *kiwirarai* = having a husband; *yīramanarai* = having a horse; *millimbrai* = milkers, cows having milk; *junbabrai* = shepherd, having sheep; *yūlarai* = having food; full, opposite to *yūlpin* = hungry; *ul* or *dūl* = like, having the quality of.

PHRASES AND SENTENCES.

- I sleep, *gai baubillani*.
 Verily I did sleep, *kir* (or *kearr*) *gai baubillini*.
 I hear, *gai winnungilun* (or *winnungī*).
 I have truly got honey, or "cut out" honey, *warrūl kearpai bhaialdona* (or *baüi*).
 I have well slept, *gai gūraraghinye*.
 I fish (hook fish), *ghūya gaia yenabilli*.
 I split wood, *tūlū gai bharūni*.
 We two are friends (or belong to one another), *guyungun galli*.
 Friendly people, *guyungundūl murri*.
 Enemies, *yilian murri*.
 So, in this way, *yellina*.
 In this manner, *yīlakwai*.
 What do you say? what is it? *mienya*? or *mien yarij*?
 Why do you do this? *mienya go*?
 Ejaculations of surprise, how great! how grand! *kuttabul!* *kuttabul!*
 How strange! *gī pai*!
 [The idea of intensity in greatness, distance, proximity, etc., is

expressed by prolonging the final syllable, sometimes the root syllable, as *yarrib ū!* very far off indeed.]

Kai-medūl, very young and small indeed.

Yes, yo; *kirr* is used as an emphatic yes.

Yes, aiyo, *kirraol* or *kerraol* = truly (uttered with solemnity).

Hither, this way (come), *tai*.

That way, *arrigo*.

Here, *numma*.

At your hand, *murru*.

This side (of a river, &c.), *ūriallina*.

The other side, *parigallina*.

The far side, *mūlanda*.

Soon, *yela*; immediately, *yelādtho*.

Before long, or not long ago, *yelambo*.

Like, resembling, *keerrt* or *kearrt*, as *pukadi kearrt* (like a squirrel),
bhan ghearrt (like the appearance of mistletoe).

I am abstaining from cod, *yai wanall kūdū*.

Me bound to abstain from kangaroo, *yunna wanall bundarr*.

TRADITIONS.

Bhaiami, Baiame (or Bhiahmee) is regarded as the maker of all things. The names signify "maker" or "cutter out," from the verb *bhai*, *baialli*, *baia*. He is regarded as the rewarder or punisher of men, according to their conduct. He sees all, and knows all, if not directly, through the subordinate deity Turramūlan, who presides at the Bora. Bhaiami is said to have been once on the earth. Turramūlan is mediator in all the operations of Bhaiami upon man, and in all man's transactions with Bhaiami. "Turramūlan" means "leg on one side only," one-legged.

Turramūlan has a wife called Muni Burribian (Moonee Burrebean), that is, egg or life, and milk or nourishing, who has charge of the instruction and supervision of women. For women may not see or hear Turramūlan on pain of death.

The "tohī" (smoke, spirit, heart, central life), that which speaks, thinks, determines within man, does not die with the body, but ascends to Bhaiami, or transmigrates into some other form. It may be a wandah (*wunda*) or spirit wandering about the earth. The "bunna," flesh or material part, perishes; the "wandah" may become a white man. The transmigration of the "tohi" is generally to a superior condition; but those who are very wicked go to a more degraded and miserable condition.

Forms of incantation are used. The Deity is supposed to be influenced by charms, worked through the agency of

certain stones and magical cards ("burr"). It is also supposed that men are capable of acquiring magical or supernatural powers, and pretenders often self-deceived have arisen. As among Christians, many are grossly ignorant of Christ and of God, and become slaves to their own imaginations and to degrading superstitions, it is not to be wondered at that blacks should be ignorant of Bhaiami, of Turramūlan, and of their moral and religious code.

TRADITION CONCERNING ORION AND THE PLEIADES.

The Pleiades, *Miai Miai* (meaning girls), were *garibū ghibalindi* (*i.e.*, a very long time ago), living on earth. They were young women of extraordinary beauty. Orion, "Berriberi" (meaning young men) becoming *būral winupilan* (enamoured) of these young women, pursued them, one particular warrior being foremost. *Miai Miai* fled and prayed for deliverance. They were favourites of Bhaiami and of Turramūlan, who granted their request. They climbed to the top of some very high trees; and by the help of Bhaiami sprang up into "gunakulla" (the sky, or heaven), where they were changed into beings of light. One of them not being so beautiful as the rest, or being less favoured, hides behind the other six; and it is said to be "gurri gurri" (shy or afraid), that is the pleiad which is scarcely visible, or less conspicuous than the rest.

Soon after the elevation of *Miai Miai* to the heavens, Berriberi, or the leader of the young men, was taken up, and now appears as a constellation (Orion) with his "burran" (boomerang) and "ghūtūr" (belt).

The sun, "yarai" or "yurōka," is masculine.

THE BORA (OR BOORAH).

This is an institution for the admission of youth into the rank of manhood. Meetings for the Bora are summoned at irregular periods, as emergencies arise. The youths who are initiated are instructed in the mysteries of their supernatural beings; and their moral and religious codes are enumerated with much solemnity. Symbols are used, rites are practised, fasting is enforced. Turrumūlan is represented by an old man, who is learned in all the laws and traditions, rites and ceremonies, and assumes to be endowed with supernatural powers. It is certain that most of those who have passed through the Bora are profoundly impressed with a sense of obligation to observe the moralities and spiritualities there enumerated.

Here instruction is given in the law of consanguinity and intermarriage. In one respect this law agrees with the

Mosaic code, it allows not marriages with a wife's sister during her lifetime. Polygamy is permitted under certain restrictions. The infraction of these is punished by corporal and spiritual penalties. It is generally observed more sacredly than the Christian code among the whites. In connection with the Bora abstinence from particular kinds of food is enforced, in some cases for years.

It is called the "Boorrah," or place of the "boorr," because the boorr, or belt, is used in the incantations. The neophyte is solemnly invested with the "boorr," or belt of manhood.

It is unlawful to mention the Bora, or anything connected with it, or the name of Turrumulan in the presence of women. Most of the Murri imagine that evil influences are exercised by means of the "boorr;" when sickness occurs they say "ūērrma boorr warlah" (those people are throwing the belt). For instance, the Murri on the Barwon River and on the Bree, attribute the prevalence of smallpox (of which some of them retained marks a few years ago) to the throwing of the boorr by a hostile tribe on the west.

SONGS, BAOILLI.

Baoilli (song of derision of one of the same tribe).

Yāndū-nāgō turri ghilliana
Buzbūn mulligo zo zin bularr
Yai murrin yaia warranbraia
Yirrego ma toh dirraldaia.

Who comes ? large head of hair,
Arms crooked, like cockleshells two,
It is one of my people, on the road he is,
Forth smoke is proceeding.

Baoilli II (an English scene. The song illustrates the aboriginal art of constructing new words from the English).

Publikaor wiritheah
Djéamillia nūri mīr
Yummildiago karniwaiandi
Drunghilla trānal a dīmī

Public house* shouting or screaming,
Grasping hips or thighs
He appears, tripped by a stick,
Drunken, stricken with fits.

* The aborigines cannot sound s; the name Yass on our maps was originally "Yarr."

Baoilli III. Yugal, or song composed for dancers.
 Burran būrin belar bündi
 Muraea berar karni
 Wakara wārōi tubilkah Bündin
 Yumba yumbū gūmil
 Warakel munan

Shield of Burree, spear and club,
 Throwing stick of Berar bring ;
 The broad boomerang of Waroll,
 Waist-belts and pendants, aprons of Boodon.
 Jump ! jump ! use your eyes,
 With the straight emu spear.

Baoilli IV ; another Yugal.

Murri goriah
 Yeraman buraldi
 Wi wi kurralah
 Millimbrai kakullah kirawa
 Black man very fat,
 Horses driving,
 Firewood cutting,
 Milking cows, lowing,
 Seeking for them.

Baoilli V ; a ghīrībal or song imitative of animal sounds and habits.

Beralah, black musk duck, or diver.
 Ya yaia yaringa (repeat *ad libitum*).
 Pumba par, go (repeat and transpose *ad libitum*).
 Mingo aha karai (repeat *ad libitum*).

Ibbiribī tar wangah whoogh. (At this word the cheeks are filled with breath like a bladder, and then suddenly as it were burst.)

Baoille VI ; ridicule of one of another tribe.

[Most of the words of this song are of the Warlarai (Wolaroo) dialect, which has a close affinity to the Ghummilarai or Kamilaroi].

Mullor mulla gha ibbeliam buli
 Bunnakunni, bunnakunni
 Kiramai gunman
 Dhuddi gaia
 Inghil bunmalumi
 Bunda wahni

Spirit like emu, as a whirlwind
 Pursues (or hastens);
 Lays violent hold on travelling (wandering).
 Uncle of mine (derisively)
 Fires out with fatigue,
 Then throws him down (helpless).

End of Mr. Greenways's information.

WAILWUN LANGUAGE AND TRADITIONS.

(Information derived from Mr. Thomas Honery, Upper Hunter.)

Wailwun or *Yiumba* is the language spoken along forty miles of the Barwon, from the junction of the Namoi downwards. It is called (Wailwun) from the negative "wail" (sounded like the English word "wile"), meaning "no" it is called "*yiumba*" from *yia* = to speak (Mr. Honery prefers the name "*yiumba*," which he says is that generally used by the people as the name of their own language. They call themselves "Wailwun," and sometimes use this word for the language.

There are about a thousand blacks now speaking *Yiumba*. The next language down the Barwon is "Burrumbinya," and the next "Kuno" which is spoken at Fort Bourke. The neighbouring languages are "Mūrūwurri" spoken on the Bree; the Calgor and the Narran Yualari, on the Balonne; and "Kuāmu," on the Warrego. "Yularai" differs from "Wolaroi" spoken on the Gwydir. In "Yularai" no is woggo; in Wolaroi the negative is "wol."

NīUMBA, WORDS. I.—NOUNS.

Man, <i>tahūr.</i>	Chin, <i>kir.</i>
Woman, <i>wirūngā.</i>	Throat, <i>nuggi.</i>
Women, <i>wirūngāi.</i>	Neck (back), <i>nirimirri.</i>
Many women, <i>wirūngamboi.</i>	Shoulders., <i>wurrū</i>
Boy, <i>murrukunga.</i>	Arm, <i>nūrrū.</i>
Girl, <i>māriyunga.</i>	Forearm, <i>pī.</i>
Baby, <i>wūrū.</i>	Elbow, <i>yunūka.</i>
Little baby, <i>wūrūdhūl.</i>	Hand, <i>murra.</i>
Maiden, virgin, <i>kuma dhiliu.</i>	Poll, <i>nān.</i>
Blackfellow, <i>mai</i> or <i>maiaī.</i>	Eye, <i>mil.</i>
White man, <i>wunda.</i>	Nose, <i>mūrū.</i>
Male (man or beast), <i>mundewā.</i>	Mouth, <i>gundal.</i>

Father, bubā.	Lips, willi.
Mother, gūni.	Teeth, wira.
Brother (man), kukkā.	Tongue, tulle.
Sister (woman), kati.	Ear, kirijera.
Brother (boy), kukkanin.	Finger, wurria.
Sister (girl), gidura.	Thumb of the fingers, gūni.
Wife,* pūan.	Toe, wurria.
Uncle, kānī.	Great toe, gunī.
Aunt, māmā.	Chest, wirri.
Cousin, gūlūngān.	Belly, buri.
Truant wife, yanawē.	Armpit, kilkulbūri.
Head or skull, kubōgā.	Breast (woman's), gummū.
Head or hair, wulla.	Navel, gindyūr.
Forehead, gūlū.	Thigh, dhurra.
Beard, kir.	Calf or leg, kaia.
Moustaches, mūlagin.	Leg (below knee), piyu.
Whiskers, nārma.	Foot, dhina.
Cheek, tdhukal.	

ANIMALS.

Kangaroo, murūi.	Whip-snake, murai.
Opossum, kuraki.	Death-adder, murai.†
Emu, guri.	Pigeon (squatter), mūnūmbi.
Bat,‡ wibullabulla.	Pigeon (top-knot), laoilgera.
Swallow, millimārū.	Duck (wood), gunambi.
Laughing jackass, } great kingfisher }	Horse, yiramān.
Crow, wārū.	Sheep, tumba.
Native Companion, burulga.	Dog, mirri.§
Cod (fish), kuddu.	Eagle, mullion.
Black bream, buyulla.	Swan, burrima.
Yellow bream, bidyup.	Pelican, wirea.
Jew fish, tuy-gūr.	Cockatoo, murai.
Cray fish, wingar.	Pigeon (bronze-winged), yamur.
Boa, mugun.	Duck (in general), wiruwarra.
Black-snake, yüki.	Duck (black), būdambā.
Brown snake, tdhūrū.	Duck (teal), buiga.
	Yam, kunōwa.

[This yam is sweet, juicy, and very agreeable. It grows to the size of a large water melon, and as many as sixteen yams are found one on root. It grows in sandy ground, and has above

* That is what is called in Kamilaroi "gūtir" one who may lawfully be taken as a wife; thus "Ippatha idhuru" is "puan" to "Ippai guri."

† The bat and the swallow are sacred, and are never killed.

‡ The name of the whip-snake and death-adder is the same; both are deadly. The name of cockatoo differs only in the length of the u.

§ In Barrunburga language, mirri means a horse.

the surface only a small vine; informant never saw any seed or flower upon it.]

Ironbark, bigur.	Yellow-box, mulli.
Boomerang-tree, mulga.	Moon, kiwur.
Sun, dhuni.	Boomerang, bier.
Namoi (river), kimmwi.	Myal (<i>accacia pend.</i>), būri.
Sacred stone, wiar.	Bastard myal, yimma.
Gum-tree, guara.	Venus (emu), yūri.

[This stone is in the king's (chief's) possession, and by putting this in his mouth and spouting it out at anyone, he can cause his death. One of his men goes and kills the person thus marked out for destruction.]

Friendship (or friends), maindyūl. Enmity (or enemies), kulgiurun
Astonishment, yudūwundūbaigu. or kulgigan.
North-west, mirūraka.

ADJECTIVES.

Good, yiada.	Alive, mūun.
Bad, wurai.	White, buzobā.
Great, thurugal.	Black, būlui.
Small, buddhūdthūl.	Blue, būlui.
One, māgū.	Red, girawil.
Two, būlugur.	Yellow, gūnaingūna.
Three, kulibā.	Green, gidyungidyun.
Four, būlugurbūlugur.	Brown, dhugnngnlia.
Old, bugaia.	Five, wirunyun murra.
Young, dhulujaimbā.	

PRONOUNS.

I, yāttu.	Ye, yindngul.
Thou, yindu.	He, mundēwū.
Ye two, yindūlā.	We, yēene.

ADVERBS.

Yes, yāru.	Above, yunaowa.
No, wail	Below, yunadhr.

Many words are the same in Karilaroi and Wailwun, but a large number are different.

SENTENCES.

Did you see me? yāmāndu ahi yāni?	
Yes, I saw you, yāru yu dhu yāni.	
Ippai built a house, Ippāudu wūme ynnu.	

Murri pulled it down, Murringu wîrune.
 Kubbi killed Kumbo, Kubbingû gûnê Kumbuyu.
 Kumbo killed Kubbi, Kumbuyu Kubbiya gume.
 What for? minyangô?
 The greatest of enemies, kulkiwunwungân.

GENEALOGY AND MARRIAGE.

Like the Kamularoi, they have four family names of men, and four of women; Ippai, Murri, Kumbo and Kubbi; and Ippâthâ, Mâthâ, Bûdthâ and Kubotha.

These are also divided into murûi or murûwi (kangaroo), yuri (emu), tdhûrû (brown snake), and kuraki (opossum). There are therefore four classes of Ippai, namely, Ippai murûwi, Ippai yuri, Ippai tdhuru, and Ippai kuraki, and so of the others, making sixteen classes of men, and sixteen of women. Kumbunga is a young kumbo, murriiga a young murri.

When tribes go to war, each carries its own representative animal stuffed, as a standard.

According to Mr. Honery, the only rules observed as to marriage and descent, are these two: that a man cannot take a wife of the names corresponding with his own, and that parents may not give their children their own names. Thus Murri Kuraki may not marry a Matha Kuraki, but he may marry Matha Tdhuru, or Ippatha Kuraki, or any woman except Matha Kuraki. Ippai Tdhuru may marry any woman but an Ippathu Tdhuru; the children of the kuraki and a tdhuru, must be either murui or yuri. It is likely enough that in some families the rules are more or less relaxed. The two rules above given are carried out in the more complete system, which has been described in former reports. Mr. Honery also states that brothers and sisters have different animal names. Thus all brothers of Ippai Tdhuru are also Ippai Tdhuru; but his sisters are not Tdhuru, though they are all Ippatha. Sometimes the brothers are Ippai Tdhuru, and the sisters Ippatha Kurabi.

When Ippai Tdhuru marries Kubotha Murui, their children are Murri Kurabi and Matha Yuri; when Kumbo Yuri marries Matha Kurabi, their children are Kubbi Tdhuru and Kubotha Muriû.

TRADITIONS.

Bai-ame made all things. He first made man at the Murula, (a mountain between the Narran and the Barwon). Bai-ame once lived among men. There is, in the stony ridges between the Barwon and the Narran, a hole in a rock, in the shape of a man, two or three times as large as an ordinary man, where

Bai-ame used to go to rest himself. He had a large tribe around him there, whom he fed at a place called "Midūl." Suddenly he vanished from them and went up to heaven. Still though unseen he provides them with food, making the grass to grow. They believe that he will come back to them at some future time.

There was formerly a bad spirit, called Mullion (the eagle), who lived in a very high tree, at Girra on the Barwon, and was wont to come down and devour men. They often tried to drive away Mullion by piling wood at the foot of the tree, and setting fire to it. But the wood was always pushed away by an invisible hand, and the fire was of no avail. Bai-ame, seeing their trouble, told a black fellow to get a murruwunda (a little red mouse), and put a lighted straw in its mouth, and let it run up the tree. This set fire to the tree, it blazed up, and from the midst of the smoke they could see Mullion fly away. He never returned to vex them. The smoke that arose from the burning of that tree was so dense, that they could see nothing for some days.

"Kinirkinir," the spirits of the departed, are supposed to wander over the face of the earth. "Buba" (father) is used as the name of an old kangaroo, father of the whole race of kangaroos, whose thigh-bone is preserved and carried about by one of the tribes. This bone is 4 feet long, 7 or 8 inches round, and tapering in form.

It was found long ago in the Murulu ridges. The Murui of the tribe have charge of it. "Youi" is a spirit that roams over the earth at night. "Wāwi" is a snake in the water, that used to eat black fellows. They could never kill it. "Murrula," a dog-like monster, formerly in the waters, not seen lately. They say the water was formerly all over the region between the Barwon and the Narran.

KINGS.

Each tribe chooses its king. There is no formal act of choosing or appointing a king. The tribe gradually recognise the superior activity and prowess of their ablest man; and by general consent he becomes king. A king can always find some one to carry out his wishes, in killing those whom he dislikes. In one instance a king was killed in revenge for killing his wife's baby. He had sent his wife away, and she came with a baby. He said it was not his child, and beat his wife and drove a tomahawk into the head of the child. The woman's brother then came and killed the king with his spear. The tribe coming up, and seeing their king wounded to death, attacked

the wife's brother. Some took his part, and in a fight which ensued this man and his partisans prevailed. He was then made king in place of the man he had killed.

He was called "Waiaburra Jackey."

CARROBAREES.

At their carrobarees, or festivals of singing and dancing, they sometimes have stuffed birds on their backs; pelicans, swans, emus, &c. They hop and run about in imitation of the birds. The women sit down and sing.

When the Black Police first appeared on this river, the following song was composed and sung at carrobarees:—

Murāgō mungingā dhi
Guria bai go
Dhiniligo Dunuligandhu mini
Gūrāgō.

Go on, blind, all of ye,
Go on for ever, I hope
To Sydney, to Sydney for ever,
Good-bye.

Of the following Carrobaree song he could not give the meaning. It may serve to illustrate their ideas of metre.

Ibiruna ibaiyilüni
Bülbirlini
Yūranindhul mindhuloni
Bugagudi nunmurnunmura
Hei yurri.

THE BORA.

In 1862 Mr. Honery was present at a Bora held between the Barwon and the lower part of the Castlereagh River. He was a boy at the time, and is one of the very few Europeans who have been allowed to witness the mysteries of the initiation. There was a place cleared and surrounded with bushes laid as a fence, like a sheep yard. Within were three old men. About twelve youths were to be "made men;" they had been for seven or eight months compelled to eat only one kind of food. When they came to the outside of the yard, at the command of the old men they lay flat upon their faces, and were covered with a cloak. Then two of the old men came outside, the third remaining within.

The youths were called up, one at a time. Each youth, as he came up, leapt over the fence, and took up a piece of string with a bit of wood at the end, which he whirled round with a whizzing noise three times. He then jumped out, and another jumped in. While one was inside, the others remained lying on the ground, with their heads covered, and as soon as one came out, he fell on his face, and was covered up again.

A week after this preliminary ceremony, the old men all went inside, and called in the youths one at a time. As each came in they flogged him as hard as they could with a strip of bark 2 feet long and 6 or 8 inches wide. Then, with two stones, one used as a peg, the other as a hammer, they broke off and knocked out one of his front teeth, leaving the roots of the tooth in his jaw. All this time the young man uttered not a sound. He went out, and hid his head as before; and another came in to undergo the same process. For the next four days they were allowed to eat nothing but a very little bit of opossum. They were closely watched by the old men, to prevent their rambling about and perchance getting food contrary to law. At the end of four days, they were brought, one by one, into the enclosure, and were compelled to eat the excrement of old women mixed with "tao" (the root of a plant called pigwood), in basins of bark.

This revolting ceremony has been often ascribed to the blacks ; some of them have strenuously denied the truth of the charge. I have no reason to doubt the truth of Mr. Honery's statement, though he is the only person who has told me that he saw it done. It may be a partial custom, limited to a few of the most degraded tribes. Coupled with flagellation and the knocking out of the tooth, it seems designed to complete the proof of manly endurance, as if they required those who aspired to the privileges of manhood, to prove their fitness by submitting, without a murmur, to the most painful and also the most nauseous processes imaginable.

After these things are done, the young men were turned out, but for three or four months were not allowed to come within 300 yards of a woman. Once in the course of this time, they make a great smoke with burning boughs, then the young men come up on one side, women at a distance on the other side. Then the young men go away for another month or so. At the end of that time they meet and take part in a sham fight, which completes the long process of initiation. From that time they are free to enjoy all the privileges of men; they may eat kangaroo, and emu, and may take wives.

NAMES.

Besides their tribal names, they have distinctive names founded on some personal peculiarity or accident. Thus "Kubbi Tdhūrū" is called Kūakumbōan, another is "Dūluman" (bald), from the bald hill near which he was born. An "Ippai Tdhūrū" is called Dhinawurai (crooked thigh). A woman "Būtha Tahūrū," is called "Mugumilla" (blind); another woman is "Winuluvurai" (also crooked thigh, in the Burrumbinya language); another is "Wullubungabia" (grey-headed). A "Muiri" who is a king is called "Dinabukul."

CUSTOMS.

Tribes seek to increase their numbers by accessions from other tribes. They steal children from other tribes; and treat these adopted children very well. If an adult blackfellow runs away from his own tribe and seeks to join another, the young men of that tribe will try to kill him; but if the old men are present when he comes up, they will restrain the young men from attacking him, and will receive him kindly.

They practice barter; one man makes boomerangs for others, another makes spears, another opossum rugs; everything bears its maker's mark; there are curved, zigzag, and diamond-shaped marks. Such exchanges take place as an opossum rug for a spear, a fishing net for a boomerang, &c. They had no fish-hooks before the whites came.

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE.

When a girl is born, she is at once given by the father or mother to some man, to be his wife in due time. It is common for old men to get young girls for wives, and for old women to become wives to young men. Some young men never live with any woman. A man often gets wives, by fighting, from another tribe.

FUNERAL RITES.

They make great wailing over the dead, and sometimes keep up the nightly wail for a brother or sister, for years. Both men and women plaster their heads over with mud or pipeclay, and then cut themselves with tomahawks. At the funeral they dress up in different styles, some with head-dresses. When a fat man dies, they put his body up in a forked tree, and catch the fat dropping from him to anoint themselves; this they

suppose makes them partakers of his former health and strength. When the fat has been drawn off, they take the body down, and sometimes carry it about for years. They eat the heart and liver of the dead, in order to appropriate his virtue. They never eat a man because of enmity.

They bury most of their dead in round or oblong graves. There are burial-grounds where there are hundreds of graves. The Kamaroi tribes cut figures on the trees round the graves as memorials of the dead.

HISTORY.

When white men first came to the Barwon, the blacks were most amazed at the bullock drays. They thought the chains were tied round the bullocks' legs, not understanding the use of the yokes. They called them "wunda," and tried to kill them, as evil spirits. When the whites fired their guns at them, they ran up to the mouths of the guns to stop the smoke from coming out, and several of them were shot dead. That was at Murrubi.

After that, they watched the white men to kill them. The first whom they killed was caught by them while milking the cows. They stuck up his body on three spears, cut him with glass bottles, found at the station, and mutilated him horribly.

Dhinabukul, a king, was a native of the Bree; he was very bold, and became powerful. After the white people came, he was very friendly with them. He sought their favour, and killed any black fellow whom they wished to get rid of.

(*End of Mr. Honery's Statement.*)

THE ABORIGINES ON THE PAGE AND THE ISIS.

Near the junction of the rivers Page and Isis, tributaries of the Hunter, not far from the town of Aberdeen, Mr. Macdonald, a squatter of the place, showed me the spot where the blacks held their boras. It was in a pleasant glen at the foot of one of the highest hills in the neighbourhood. On the ground is the rude figure of a man, formed by laying down sticks of wood and covering them with earth, so as to raise it from 4 to 7 inches above the level of the ground. It is 22 feet long, 12 feet wide from hand to hand, and of the shape here given, fig 1.



Fig. 1.

While the young men are waiting the ordeal of the bora, they are made to lie flat on the ground upon their faces, in the position of this figure. Near by is a tree bent, as is not uncommon in this country, so as to be almost horizontal for some 10 feet, about 5 feet above the ground, down a branch and along the trunk of which the blacks have cut marks like the foot-prints of an emu. When a bora is held, a stuffed emu is carried along this tree, cleverly, so as to appear like a living one, and then walks round the company, along a raised path about 150 yards in circumference. In the centre is a large fire, round about which they dance.

The young men are initiated at the age of 16 or 17. There is no knocking out of a tooth in this part of the country, nor any such revolting process as that mentioned by Mr. Honery as practised among the Wailwun tribe. But there is an ordeal of pain. They say that on these occasions their god comes down by a tree, and makes a great noise, and tosses the candidates for initiation up into the air to test them, and if they are bad he tears them to pieces. Round about this place, for a considerable distance, are about one or a hundred and twenty trees marked

with tomahawks as in the subjoined sketch ; fig. 2 is 18 inches in diameter. There are many trees marked exactly in this way ; on some the marks reach as high as 15 feet above the ground ; fig. 3 is 2 feet 6 inches in diameter ; figs. 4 and 5 are different sides of the tree, about 4 feet.

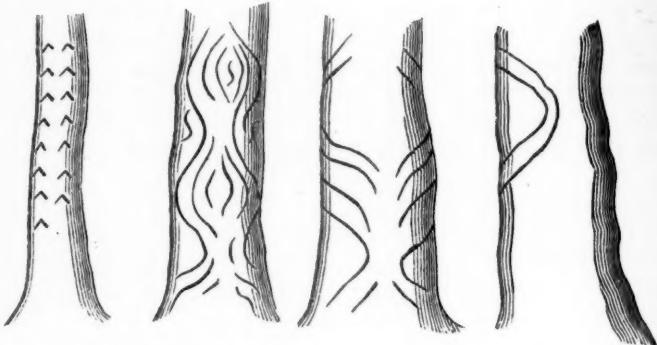


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

MARRIAGE.

When a man wants to get a wife, he goes to a camp where there are men and women, and throws in a boomerang. If it is not thrown back at him, he walks in quietly and takes a wife ; if a boomerang is thrown at him, he has to fight Sorcerers. Their Krodjis profess to drive away rain by taking a large cinder out of the fire and beating it with a stick till it flies to pieces ; they then gather round it and shout "cooey." When any one is sick, the Krodjis come around him and sing ; they also burn the dung of kangaroos and lay it burning hot on wounds. They seek information in dreams, sleeping with their heads under logs.

VENGEANCE.

If a man steals anything the tribe kill him. If a man murders any one, they believe the murderer will pine away and soon die.

BURIAL.

In order to bury the dead, they dig a round hole like a well. They make a fire in this hole, and when it is burnt out, they carefully sweep up the ashes on a piece of bark and throw them out. When they put the dead in the hole, in a sitting posture, whatever belongs to him (spears, boomerangs,

opossum rugs, &c.) is buried with him. They lay large logs across the top of the grave, level with the ground, and roof them over with bark, on which they raise a mound of earth. They carve serpentine lines on two trees, to the north-west of the grave. They say black will rise up white fellows.

LANGUAGES.

They speak "Kamilaroi," varying slightly from that of the Namoi and Barwon. Here is a song sung at their Corrobarees.

Murrab a dai, būnmildē
Ha dinga dingā
Duon dimi woldina
Gulīr bain de yē

"Bulimardyi" is something sacred; "Wunda" something awful.

TRADITIONS.

The deity who comes down at their "Bora" is very good and very powerful. He is very ancient, but never gets older. He saves them by his strength. He can pull trees up by the roots, and remove mountains. If anything attacks them he tears it to pieces.

The origin of the rivers was thus:—Some black fellows were very thirsty, looking for water; and coming to a tree with a gulagūr (opossum's hole), cut it with a tomahawk; on which rivers flowed from it.

The white cockatoo was formed thus:—A piece of white bark was taken from a tree and thrown up, while in the air it was turned into a cockatoo.

They tell of a chief who sent out some of his people to strip bark. They came back, and told him they could not get any. These men had broken the laws, and for their sin a terrible storm came down upon them. The chief took his tomahawk and stripped off a sheet of bark, and told them to get under it. They said it was not large enough. He stretched it each way, making it longer and broader. Then getting them under it, he threw it down, and killed them all. Another chief lived in a cave, and kept a dog.

ORIGINAL HOME OF THE MURRI.

The aborigines here say their fathers came long long ago from the north-west. This is the tradition told on the Barwon, 300

miles westward, and remarkably corresponds with the statement of Andrew Hume, that the blacks near the north-west coast of Australia say the first men who ever came to this continent, landed on that coast, and that the righteous and prevailing part of the population, afterwards drove away a multitude of offenders against their sacred law towards the south-east.

(*End of Mr. McDonald's information.*)

Language of the Aborigines of George's River, Cowpasture and Appin, that is from Botany Bay, 50 miles to the south-west (From Mr. John Rowley, of Scone, formerly resident on Cook's River, near George's River, son of Lieutenant Rowley.)

Black man, dullai [duggai is a Husband, mollimin. man at Moreton Bay.]	Wife, jinmap.
Black woman, wirāwi.	Brother, bobbina.
White man, jib agulay or jib- bagulōy.	Sister, bunnis * or wiap. Brother-in-law, jumbi.
Boy, wongra, or wangena, or wungara.	Sister-in-law, jumbin.
Girl, wērōví.	Comrade, mittigar.
Forehead, kobinā.	Head, kobra, or kobberā.
Eye, mai.	Rain, wallan.
Nose, nogra.	Thunder, murongal.
Mouth, midyea midge, or burra.	Frost or snow, talārā.
Teeth, tarra or terra.	Grass, durawi.
Ear, kurra.	House or hut, gunyu.
Breast, nābzuz.	Ship, murri noo-i.
Stomach, bindi.	Drink, wittama.
Arm, minnip.	Victuals, kārndō.
Hand, buril.	Spear (small), dūal.
Finger, berril.	Fish spear (with prongs), muttinj.
Leg, mundowo, or muirdao-i.	Boomerang, būmarin.
Semen, nallun.	Shield, hēlimān or hilamun.
Coition, nutta.	Throwing stick (to throw spears), wōmrā.
Cloaca, gūnārā.	Net, rao-roa.
Deaf, kūrabündi.	Black duck, yūrānyi.
Having bad eyes, kūjamai.	Hawū, bündā.

* The s here must, I think, be a mistake. Nowhere in Australia have I heard the sound s in any aboriginal word. The sound of dy (in hidyard) approaching to j, or g in Roger, is sometimes mistaken for s, so is rr. I regret to say Mr. Rowley left shortly before I received his collection of words, so that I could not consult him on the point.

Kangaroo, būrrū.	Blue shark, eon.
(old man), kao	Ground shark, quibito.
wālgōy.	Schnapper, wallami.
Kangaroo (mountain K.), wolarū.	Kingfish, wollogul.
(black brush), wolabā.	Flathead, kaoāri.
" (red), gorea.	Mullet, worrijal.
Horse, yaraman (from "yara," throw fast).	Bream, yerrermurra.
Horned cattle, kumbakuluk.	Blackfish, kururma.
Sheep, jimbuk.	Black snake, cherribit.
Rock kangaroo, wirine or wīrain.	Mosquito, dubiy.
Kangaroo rat, karnyim.	Eel, burra.
Native bear, kūlā.	Oyster, bittongi.
Namesake, damolai or damili.	Mud oyster, denyā.
Stranger, mai-āl.	Fish, mogra.
Father, biana.	Lightning, māngāmāngā.
Mother, waiana.	Earth or ground, bimmall.
Child (baby), gury.	Wind, gūra.
Doctor (sorcerer), karrājī.	Canoe, naoi.
Foot, tunna.	Club (large headed), nullanulla.
Urethra, wīngī.	Club, woddi (waddy).
Testicle, kulga.	Spear, kārmāi.
Buttocks, būtrā.	Path or road, mūrū.
Emus, būna or quimārā.	Hill, bulga.
Pudendum muliebre mündrā.	Back, gili.
Menstrual period, mūlāmūndrā.	Humpback, bulga-gili.
To make water, yilabbi.	Stone hatchet, mogo.
Big-bellied, bindimāri.	Knot of a tree hollowed out to hold water, cōlōmin.
Stammering, kūrūkabundi.	Oar, narrawan.
One-eyed, wōgulmai.	Gun, jererburra.
Emu, birribain, or birabain, or murriion.	Smoke, kudjel.
Blue pigeon, wonga wonga.	Sore, gigi.
Crested pigeon, mirrāl.	Sore, boil, būkā.
Green pigeon, bāomā.	Itch, gaiball.
Bronze-winged pigeon, gotgaj.	Flyblows, tullilibop.
Laughing jackass, kogunda.	Opossum rug, budbilli.
Cockatoo, karabi or karibi.	Egg, carbin.
Rosella parrot, būndelük.	Blood, mula.
Quail, maunlai.	Paper (called from the inner bark of the tea tree, which resembles paper), kurunderup or kurundulup.
Crow, wargon.	Bubrush, wollogolin.
Hawk, būndā.	Cooking, kuninmā.
Opossum, wāi āli.	Name, nante.
Ring-tailed opossum, būkari.	Pity or sympathy, mudjevū.
Ground bear, wombat.	
Iguana, jindaolā.	

Dog, jūnghō or dingo.	Hoarseness (in speaking), kurak a bundi.
Pig, tarra müē.	Ceremony of knocking the front tooth, yellā bī daiāloy.
Sun, keūn, kyun, or yiluk.	Disease like smallpox, which carried off many before the colony was settled, gul gul.
Moon, julluk.	Brush† (thick wood), tuga.
Stars, kimberwalli.	Scrub (thick wood), jerematta.
Morning, winbin.	South wind, tugra gōrā.
Night or darkness, minni.	Dust (flour, &c.), duria or dirir. North wind, yurōka‡ gōrā.
Water, bardo, or nijoy or naijip.	
Fire, goyoy*	
Sea, burrawal.	

PRONOUNS.

I, naiya.	We, jumna.
You, nindī.	That, mungān.

ADJECTIVES.

Hot, yūrūka (used also for north and on the Barwon)	Two, bulla (the universal Australian root).
yuroka = sun).	Three, bulla wargul (two-one). or (1) wāgul, (2) bülēr or blaveri, (3) blaoveriwagul, (4) blaoberiblaoeri.
Cold, tugra (used also for south).	Four, bullabulla.
Large, murri, or marri (this word means great all over Eastern Australia).	Five, bullubullawargul.
Small, narap.	Old, kaoall or kaiun.
Good, Büdjery.	Young, müddi.
Bad, wērī.	Afraid, jerron.
Brave, muttoj.	Greedy, tulliz nup.
Deaf, kūrakubunni.	Fat, gōrai.
Bald (on the head), kombrukno.	Lean, warary.
Stupid, bimuj-gārai.	Stinking, kūji (coogee, or bad generally).
Angry, kulara.	Near-sighted (bad eyes), kuji
Toothless, tarrabundi.	One, wargul (at Newcastle, mai.
Grey-headed, warringi kobbera.	Cross-eyed, kūrāgain.

* Goyoy, fire, is the same root as "koiyung" at Newcastle, "kaiyun" and "küdün" at Moreton Bay.

† "Brush" is generally about a watercourse, the underwood is very thick and dark, vines load the branches of trees. "Scrub" is a drier and less luxuriant jungle.

‡ "Yuroka" means "sun" on the Barwon. The sun is north, not mid-day.

VERBS.

To give, togā	To burn, kunnet.
To steal, karāmā.	To swim, bōgi.
To fight, dūrella.	To drive, nalla bogi.
To throw, yanah.	To hide, tua billi.
To cry, yunga.	Look out (beware), quārk quārk.
To laugh, winna.	Stop here, wallawa.
To shout (coowhee), kumba.	Sit down, nallawilli.
To tell (make known), paialla.	To go, yan (common root).
To fish, mogra.	Let us go, nalla yan.
To hunt, wolbunga.	To squint, kuragaine or kurgain.
To sleep, nangri.	Make haste, barrao (in Kami-
To dance, korrobra.	laroi, barai).
To sing, beria.	To spear, turret.
To die, boi (this root is found at Moreton Bay).	Come here, quai bidja.
To take, mahan.	Run away, whū kārndi.
To strike, paibao.	Come, quai.
	Run, wū.

ADVERBS.

No, bel or beal.	Yes, yuin.
Far away, wārāwārā.	Where, būwūt.
Close by, winnima.	Here, bijā.
Bye-and-bye, kārbō.	Away, kaundi.

PHRASES.

Tell me your name, paialla jaia nanti.
 Your brother, mindi (or njindi) bobina,
 My brother, nyah (or ydia) bobina.
 Strike me, paibao jaia.
 The baby is burnt, make haste guruj, kunut, kuai, bijā.

A hunting song about Wallaby, bandicoot, rock kangaroo,
 bush, rat, bear, and blue pigeon.

Wolba, wolba minyā mundē
 Ajawē y kolē birop
 Mute mutte wire
 Wungōr, wungōr
 Kolle, miroj
 Ato, mute

CUSTOMS.

Female children are betrothed as soon as they are born; and from that time the future son-in-law must never look at his destined mother-in-law.

During the menstrual period, women are most careful to seclude themselves, sleeping at a separate fire, and in any way avoiding association of others. The karadji or doctor, when called to the sick, warms his own foot, and then presses it on the sick, where the pain is felt.

(*End of Mr. Rowley's information.*)

Specimens of the language of the extinct Sydney Tride (from John Malone, a half-caste, whose mother was of that tribe).

Father, babunna.	Food, dunmijuy.
Mother, yubury.	Night, purrā.
Child, chaguy.	Sun, wirri.
Son, babuy.	Sunshine, wirygulla or wiriy kuleyes.
Daughter, gudjerup.	One, wakul.
Sister, midjan or mitjun.	Two, wákülwákül.*
Your father's children, babmun- derup.	Three, dögül
Your are mine (my daughter), gaiawulli.	Ground, murruy.
Old man, banguy.	Dog, jugup.
Old woman, müldā.	Magpie, gurüguy.
Water, bahi.	Crow, metiba.
Fire, wě.	Duck, kundyeri.
Head, kabura.	Black-snake, yunga.
Eyes, mě.	Deaf-adder, nyambutsh.
Nose, nügülbundi.	Hut, kurya.
Mouth, kommi.	Creek, turagup.
Tongue, tulluy.	Sand, wetyut.
Hand, narramul.	Grass, bumibür.
Knee, yümüñ.	Wind, kümgüma.
Foot, dunna.	Boat, yeenera or bulinjuy.
Kangaroo, burral.	For a würügul.
	Good, kuller.

* This must be a substitute for a forgotten bülér, or some such word.

Opossum, kūrūera.	Bad, wirra.
Sky, dulkā.	Large, kainn.
Sea, kulgura.	Small, murrūwīluy.
Rain, bunna.	Red and yellow, kubar.
Clouds, kurrū.	White, tibuira.
Smoke, kurungery.	Black, yūnda.
Dew, kibir.	

I see a kangaroo, yāndagū būrrū.
 Where, wutta.
 There he is, yo, yo, ya yullai.
 He has caught some schnapper, mānmā wūlimai.
 He killed a snake, bunmā mūndā.
 Run, come here, quick, clawā, yē, yē chōbuŋ.
 Go away, take the dog away, yunda gaindina mirriguŋ.
 Bring it here again, yaiyuluy ya mirriguŋ.
 Give me some water, biniyuŋ bātū.
 I will give you some water, yai yai pindwagūŋ būtū.
 Over the river, wāgū yānbāgal.
 You must, no ! yindiyuŋ mulli, mēira.
 What do you want, mistress ? unijerunbi munkū ?
 What are you looking sulky for ? punmakūno wottowiyē ?
 You must be so disagreeable, yullai rumka wirimipunin.
 Our father here will pray for us, kur aguluk tualene.
 He brought his sister home, yaiyulai ia mitjungun.

WODIWODI.

The Language of Illawarra.

(From Lizzie, a half-caste, whose mother was a Shoalhaven, aboriginal, and who is now the wife of John Malone).

The language formerly spoken from Port Jackson to Wollongong was called "Turawal;" that spoken from thence to the Shoalhaven River, "Wodiwodi."

God, Mirirul.	Sky, mirir.
Spirit or ghost, gūn.	Cloud, kurru.
White man, jiruŋgaluy.	Ground, muruŋ.
Old man, buŋgun.	Water, yaityuŋ.
Young man, yurūŋ or baŋluy.	Fire, kanbi.
Young woman, yirawiŋ.	Sun, bukuruy or wurri.
Chin, wullū.	Moon, tedjuŋ.
Teeth, īrra.	Stars, jinjinuuruy (sparkling).
Ear, kūri.	Venus, burāra.
Hair, jirra.	Sirius, kūrūmūl.

Tongue, tullun.	Pleiades, mullamullup.
Throat, kūrū.	Sea, yurrōwun, or kaiuy.
Head, wollar or wullar.	Rain, bunna, or yēwī.
Forehead, gulu (same in Kamilaroi).	Foot, dunna.
Eyes, moburā or mēr.	Emu, biribain.
Nose, nuggūr.	Top-knot pigeon, gūralga.
Mouth, kommi.	Laughing jackass, kukarā.
Child, kudjaguz.	Padymelon, būlūwa.
Little child, murra kaingun.	Brown-snake, gūbatap.
Boy, būnbāri.	Black cockatoo, yaoarā.
Shoulder, kōgo.	Horse, yarāman.
Arm, murruj.	Deaf-adder, mujuwich.
Hand, murramur. (This root all over the east of Australia.)	Native companion, guradāwāk. Pigeon, wongawonga.
Thigh, turra. (A still more extended root in the forms durra, durrug, &c.)	Smoke, kurujgurig. Canoe, yarnera or mudyeri.
Nails, birriyul or bīrnūj.	Tree, kundū. Bark, kuninda.
Knee, yumirnu.	Book, } Tee tree bark, } gurrindurup.
Leg (calf), yurri.	Hut, kundi, or yurrā.
Kangaroo, būrrū.	Road, yo-wuj.
Opossum, kuraora.	Spear, maiagunj.
Black-snake, mūndār.	Fish-spear, kullar.
Cockatoo, yambaiimba.	Boomerang, wurajain.
Dog, miriguj.	Tea tree, banban.
Diamond-snake, mokka.	Iron-bark tree, bārimā.
Pelican, kurujubā.	Swamp oak, mūmbara.
Iguana, gindaola.	Forest oak, wiraluj.
Lizard (small), dillup.	Honey suckle, kūrija.
Fish, dun.	Pigeon-berry, wulugunda.

ADJECTIVES.

Good, nukkūj.	Six, wowulli bo wōwulli.
Bad, bullin.	Seven, wowulli bo wowulli mittug.
Large, kaiyup.	White, taoeruj or jiruj.
Small, muruwailup or murragup.	Black, yundur.
Alive, murungulla (mōron or murun in Kamilaroi.)	Blue, yundur.
Dead, bulier or bulyar.	Red, wūrūnjūrūj or yūrūnjūrūj.
Awake, baitba.	Green, nuringuruj.
Asleep, nuggun.	Grey, yerungadā.
One, mittug, or middun.	Hot, bukurij.
Two, būlār.	Cold, maup.

Three, wowulli.	High, or far, worri.
Four, bularbular.	True, kubya.
Five, bularbular bo mittup.	False, murui.

VERBS.

Speak, kamup.	Run, jowū.
Beat, bulmugan.	Make run (causative), jomunjā.
Leave off, nawalinna.	Go down, irribā.
Lift up, kaitbaya.	Throw down, yurrēr.
Jump up, baitba.	Lie down, muzgup.
Sing, yuzgamuy.	

PRONOUNS.

I, naiagup.	He, dulla.
We, nilgup.	That one, naiadulla.
You, yindigup.	

ADVERBS.

Yes, yē.	Here, yai.
No, naiyup.	

SENTENCES.

Sit down quietly, yellari jungiri.
Take them, mundanaia.
Go and play, yunda waryiri.
Come here, yai yunmalup.
Don't fight, play quietly, junbunya wargri.
Go away, yundanaia warityuiq.
Let us go, nilgup yurrimiuq, or nilgup.
I like you, gullenmigun.
I am glad, muiyē yē.
I am sorry, purrumbaigē.
Give me a drink, wundumaia yummi.
Give me some food, dunmun dieri.
I hate you, kunnundigui or wirrunmigun.
I will tell you the truth, putbai ēgu.
He will come soon, yunula nulimun.
He stayed a long time, dunug alle.

TRADITION.

They say that "Mirrirul" made all things. Their old men have told them that there is, beyond death, a large tree, on which Mirrirul stands to receive them when they die. The good he takes up to the sky, the bad he sends to another place

to be punished. Mrs. Malone remembers when a little child, hearing the women in the camp say to disobedient children, to deter them from being naughty, Mirrirul wirrin munin, Mirrirul will not allow it.

A VISION.

Mrs. Malone's aunt, her mother's sister, a pure aboriginal, was once in a trance for three days. At the end of that time her brother or husband (Mrs. Malone's uncle) let off a gun; on which she awoke out of the trance. She then told them she had seen a long path, with fire on both sides of it. At the end of this path stood her father and mother, waiting for her. As she went on, they said to her, "Mary Ann, what brought you here?" she said, "I don't know, I was dead." Her mother said to her, "you go back." She saw it all quite plain.

Notes from DR. CREED, M.L.A., of SCONE, on the ABORIGINES of the NORTH COAST.

Dr. Creed accompanied the expedition round the North Coast of Australia, in the steamer "Eagle," in 1867, and has furnished the following information concerning the aborigines.

CAPE YORK.

The natives at Cape York call themselves Guday. Westward of that tribe are the Kokiliga; south-west of the Guday are the Ondaima; and due south, are the Yaldaigan, who have almost exterminated the Guday.

All these tribes have canoes with outriggers, which they have obtained by barter, from the islanders between Australia and New Guinea. Each canoe is cut out of one log of wood, then one side is heightened by a board sewed on with strips of cane, (rattan). These people have no boomerangs. Their weapons are spears, some heavy wooden spears, others light, made of reeds and thrown by means of the woomera (throwing stick). The Guday fish for turtle by means of spears with large bulky shafts. When the spear is driven into the turtle, the shaft, being of small specific gravity, floats on the surface. It is

connected by a rope of twisted bark with the spike. They also catch turtle with a noosed rope. They dive and catch hold of a flapper of the turtle, slip the noose over it and drag the turtle to shore. They also employ a remora for this purpose. Having made fast a line to the tail of the remora, they let him go among the turtles. He makes direct for a turtle, and fastens upon it by the suckers on the back of his head. The men then draw in the line, and secure their prey.

The Guday wear no clothes, but on their heads they have wigs. They smoke a herb that grows there, with bamboo pipes obtained from the islands. They consider it a greater injury to be struck than to be killed. The first disturbance with the natives at Cape York arose from the flogging of a black fellow who had been caught stealing. And when Mr. Jardine, P.M., proposed to flog a boy who had behaved ill, the boy's father said, not from want of affection, but from abhorrence of the indignity of a flogging, "No, but kill him."

The Korariga, the people who inhabit the Prince of Wales Island, north of Cape York, use bows and arrows, which they obtain by barter from islands further north. The Korariga had a European living with them for twenty years. He is supposed to be a Frenchman. He made fish-hooks for them with iron obtained from wrecks. The Guday have spears made with a piece of bone pointed at both ends, and lashed to the end of the shaft, so that one end of the bone forms the point of the spear, and the other serves as a barb. When this spear sticks in the flesh, the heat melts the gum upon the lashing, and loosens the bone from the shaft, so that the bone is left in the flesh.

There is no cultivation at all on the mainland of Australia, nor on any of the islands this side of Warrior Island, near the coast of New Guinea. The people live chiefly on yams and fish. The Malays come down with the beginning of the N.W. monsoon in December, to the Australian coast for trepang, and return in March by the S.E. trade wind. There is some barter between them and the natives. The party in the "Eagle," found at Cadell's Straits, an Australian black fellow, who had been with the Malays to the Dutch Colony in Java. Many of the people along the coast have iron tomahawks, obtained from the Malays, some have also spear heads of iron. One came off to the ship with tortoiseshell for sale; they also offered young women for sale, as if they had been so many kangaroos. On the Bligh River, three or four hundred blacks came swimming and wading towards the "Eagle;" when the steam-whistle was sounded they were cowed, dived and retreated, but after a while one old man came to them, offering them twelve young girls of 16 or 17 years. Some of the men in several tribes were

circumcised, but in no tribe was the practice general. Even as to knocking out the front tooth, a thoroughly Australian rite, there were many exceptions. In summer they use no hats. In winter they make huts of sheets of bark, about 30 feet long and 6 to 8 feet wide. Inside one of the huts, Dr. Creed saw, drawn on the bark with charcoal, figures of animals, and of guns, the latter designed evidently to convey to other blacks an idea of the weapons carried by the white men. At one place they found platforms about 8 feet high, made of saplings, for sleeping on. On some parts of the coast they make canoes of pieces of bark sewed up at the ends, and kept in shape by a frame-work of sticks inside. But the canoes in general use are obtained from the Malays, and have keels.

They make weirs of stakes to catch fish. Besides several species of the finny tribes, they catch crabs, and get oysters. Yams are their staple vegetable food; they also eat the root of a water-lily (*nymphaea*). At Cape York they eat turtles and turtles' eggs. Tobacco, for smoking, has been introduced among them by Malays.

They are very careful of the blind, of whom there are many. These they supply with abundance of the best food, and lead about with great attention. The dead are buried, in some cases at all events, in clefts of the rocks.

On the Roper River they saw a conical-shaped hut, 8 feet high, thatched with grass, there was nothing inside. The blacks there told them that there was a white man, with a very long beard, living thereabouts, who was then gone a fishing. Dr. Creed received from them a spear-head, wrapped carefully in native canvas. They told him any one pricked with this would surely die. Some of the people there were pitted with marks as if of smallpox.

The man who seemed to have chief authority on the Liverpool River, was Kālili, a young man, and a splendid mimic.

The people on Sweer's Island and on Bentinck Island, are stunted in growth, and wretched in appearance. They have no canoes.

In the hope that these fragmentary illustrations of the speech and thoughts and ways of the ancient race of Murri may be deemed an acceptable contribution to the materials of Anthropological science, I place them at your disposal.

I have, &c.,

PADDINGTON, SYDNEY,

21st July, 1873.

WILLIAM RIDLEY, M.A.

Copy of further Communication from MR. MACKENZIE.

GUAYAMIN.

Wenkin yanilla mārumbuliñgo ; "kūri maundtharūlinga, wurrumbra; mārum minamūgōlo, thunnumbarūnyidtha." "Ji ! birikūlumbra yenna. Miñjāli, miñjāli, miñjāli, māra, māra, māra !"

"Iuanga nenjiwata, wēritbumarañgiāna Pullir yabunyarimalaoramarumburai. Pūlinda minilla māra braganga, tethungaqkūro mündāla. Nūngailaora naiagangūli jiqa !" "Wanjawan juangga gubija yaiuŋ indigangūti !" Nūngailaora ; ithungro, kūnambūlo ilialōlo, thogunko Nūngailaora, ah, ah, ah, ah ! Navainyella Guayaminji yandthavalolo "Wurrin nūngāna, yandthaoga Purrimaijūna yanila yakuya Guayamina, yammbūla waungāla meriraji, nyambāla thogun yenna "Kawai-i; Guayamin wurrija-nya," "Karrindhabaullawa wurrumbra nyello yūin, wenkin, wurrin, miriga, pijur. Minimbarā no mundabain, pairnidtha, minimbarila yakūya yuin kummai, mündabain kullāra, kūjūro, minimburabūlla yakūya Bingāla wenkin, yuin, wurrin, pijur Minailūlo wurrumbra, waukurara thokaialulo, unniyuro yunambarila yanila yakuya Hūlālawa yakuya, mündabain jergalawa banda kunamūlawa, kutāra kūlālawa. Ya paialla Guayamin "tungurkurri, kulitkurriwa kurkurriwa." Ilimbarilyana birimburra kūlaliyena yuinji, wunnumbūlilawa Nagamrarai Karugāmbila Guayamin "mudjerija bunguthitha !" Mudjeri tharatkila ! nya, nya, nya, "Yai, yai, yai ! wir, wir ! bukara yenāna. Wurrainji yawavgun, kurawunda, purrinji pa yulai " Bungathilla yakuya, purilla wunnamila yakūja, wurri wurrīpalwāla. "Nadjinkaila mudjeri kana, purapunyilluya, mūrūkaiāli " yamadtha kūrawunda, yūlai purrainji. "Ya paiallina," yuragunjawē nyuna yenawuka "Yenaila yakupa wurri thavāli thogun dunno. Irapurilla nummo yanila thogunda. Nunnaridtha jiamūno yandthaonidtha gaianji, munijambramimmo jirapurikolo " "Miñai mumijambra yendthanolo, numma gaiir baowerigo jirapūlolo." Hoü Yanilla wurri gaiamo, nyulla," Wudthaoro undaji ?" Minilla karuga "Thukaia jimbalumna; mudbo nyerra yundi, yundi ! kalitbundtha laora nyi murrilaora yundi Mimnibarila yakuya Guayamin wurrapainji "Pulla, pulla, pulla, pulla ! Bingala bauwērino, jurup Yabumbililla mulidthajgana. Mithunathalo yarrurikūla, yanaila Guayamin thogumkunno. Nangai la wanda, Kurungambila mundijanbaraono." Thunnumbarinabagunga. Eh nangaiuga ithullabumbatjaluiologa."

I namamūlawa kuruyi banda "Ya pukerij-myā makulla

Yellibunila yakupa, kunaiala maiyur" A-a-ai, ban kunana kuwai!" Kutthila yakuja Guayamin, milidithu minilla ban irinula yakanji kuniila yakai, yakai, yakai, yakai! thunnadtha, joali kunnaiwoniga warranoga." Warrailamunya māna wurrinburritbundthimbula yakunyo waori kaiadtha bānda kuna-millowa.

GUAYAMIN.

A woman went to fish. "My two boys, wait for me at the rock. I'll catch you fish. We'll eat them."

"There are two yellow-tails for us, our mother has got fish. This fish is mine, we'll play with them."

The fish slipped out of their hands. The younger took the fish, the elder took it away. They began to cry; "that's my fish;" "no, that's yours, the little one." They cried. Their mother took them to the camp. They cried all day. Guayamin came for them. Children are crying. I must go to Purrilmal. Guayamin went all the way. He rose up on top of the hill, looked down on the camp. "Oh dear! there's Guayamin." They covered up the children with men, women, children, dogs, cloaks; brought tomahawks to kill Guayamin, brought spears, tomahawks, fish-spears, clubs, they brought all these. He threw to one side women, men, children, cloaks. He got the two boys, put them in the net, lifted them on his shoulder, went away with them. They tried to spear him, cut him with tomahawks, burn him with firesticks, pierce him with the fish-spear. Guayamin said, "All your weapons break, all your spears." They took a band of warriors, left him at Nagannarai (Crookhaven heads). Guayamin called out, "bring the canoe." "The canoe has a hole in it, look! look! look!" "Come! come! come! make haste! make haste! the sun is going down. I'll give you boomerang, necklace, waist-tassels and sash." He paddled over to him, he jumped out, he put him across to the other side (Guayamin looked round to the canoe). "The canoe is dry, we have come across dry, you told a lie." "Give me the necklace, sash, waist-tassels." He said, "you told a falsehood, I'm going away." He went right away to his camp. He put them upon a nummo, went to the camp. "You two tell my mother-in-law to go over there for my two meats. I put them on the nummo." "Mother, you go and get the two meats; your son-in-law has put them on the nummo over there." "Ay!" she went away, looked. "Where are they?" She took the bag, "they're not here, see here, the net! Look! look! they've broke it, they've run away." Guayamin took the boomerang. This way! this way! this way! this way!" He threw the boomerang, the old woman stooped down. He flung once more,

Guayamin went to his camp. They might be asleep. He was vexed about the meat." I should like to eat now. Oh ! I must sleep, I'm hungry," They made a fire right round him. It is hot weather, getting summer." The fire approaches, scorches him. "Oh dear, the fire burns me !" Guaymin leapt about, pushed away the fire with his shield. "Oh ! oh ! oh ! my feet ! they're killing me outright with fire ! I'm dying !" He dies. He would have devoured all the children, only for the fire burning him.

Version by aboriginal of the Jerry Bay tribe.

JERRA THARŪMBA TŪTAWA.

"Yanaons marugo, mudgeririwunno, niaga mundijoy maia-mboga, ma Korūgamadatha." "Haiai !" "Mundija wudthathungi ? matha Ḫurūwoga thungi-Kanoga nyellanji Kailugo. Unanji tharinnowa, kolga, imur, worringu, bumbunowa !" Wand-thola bukkunda, thunbūla mudjikūruj, warri thunganugo ; pindālā ūmungo ; minilla kumma, wommir, warri yarillanya ; thurranthura kanijilli. Murrindajallila, kulitbugilla kumma, bujambila iranū-Thubbundthella Tutawai ; warri thūlibürunkūro ; gūjina pullāra ; thalibupila wakāruj yamudtha Ḫaiunji-Bunga-millala Ḫandugunda kummawal ; warri kūrāra kumma jurālila ; jirumbunyila warri bingala. Thurīla Tutawanya, murrundthīla, kündū minamūla, murrundthīla, pailla kul ! paigula Kobbuj, warri wankarrain. Jirrainji būngutbulā pūnanji ; yanillanya warri thogundtha-Maiilla, yuinbra ilimburulaora māranji kunnangai, Ḫamallaora-Maillowa ; jamilūlū "būngutbūlagā kolga, jīa yandthaonyi." "Jakwaialiga, yanaonyi nēnjina" "Jin darana bānyena." Yirimala, Ḫurumbud-jinula, minillaora bāngo, igalla-ora, Ḫarinyuga jergallaora, benjinu Ḫamillaora mariwa Tutawa.

A Tharumba Story. TUTAWA.

"You go fish, you that have canoes, I look about for meat, for there's a westerly wind." "Very well." "Where's the meat ? for I'm looking long. I'll try on that flat. There they are standing, a buck, a doe, and young one, all three." He crept on the ground, went behind the bushes to their foot, rose on his knee, took spear and throwing-stick, and threw, speared him in the ribs. He bounded away, he broke the spear, the prong stuck fast, Tootawa followed far to a little waterhole, too shallow (for the kangaroo to take refuge in). He (kangaroo) came out on the shore just over there, stooping down. He fitted the spear to the wommir, it entered deep into the shoulder, came out at the breast. Tootawa stood, went to him, got a stick, went to him,

struck him, whack! struck him dead. He fell on the ground. He covered him with bushes and little logs, went away to the camp. He sate down, two blacks brought him fish ready cooked, and gave to him. They sate down. He told them "I've covered up a buck, we'll go for him." "I'm ready, we'll go for him now. You kindle a fire!" They gathered wood, lighted a fire. The two held him to the fire and singed him, cut off the two legs, gave the guts to the game-killer Tootawa.

Version by Noleman, aboriginal of the Wandandian Tribe.

Jerra Tharumba.

TŪTAWA, PŪLŪNGŪL.

Wunna, pūrū minilla wanēkundi Tutawanyella ; Kuritja-bunjila, ililla thōgunko ; Kunamimbūllila ! gūbija mirigambil ; jukundai murrundthila Pūlūngūl ; Ḫarinmadthai, jambinūro mundija Kunda bundilla. "Bu! Pūlūngūl, Ḫarinma Ḫaraoundtha." "Mundija yandthaono binyāro!" "Ḫurawunko bunga-iluwa thaorumbrao, Bungaluwa Ḫurawan, Tutawa pūrūrūngāla, pū-rū-rū-rū-rū. Būthūlālā Tūtawai thulinyo : thitbūlo wakāra, guia, Ḫurawan, kurrū, Kūrūgama yanaila ; yaikuja "Kūwai-ai-ai! Pūlūngūl! Kununga-luni yai yāukāraj, Ḫarinma Kunnumbaithali mundijain-purajain. Niruna bunna, Kūrūguma! "Bithai-gala Karugāndthilla Pūlūngūl," Pūlūngūl, wunnamakoin yaowē!" "Bu! indygāga bundūgan jinna." Pūlūngūl Karāmbila. "Wunnamā narūga, wunnamā narūgaa!" Yanilowa yakuna wankao. Yerrimbūlo, jella, jella, jella, jella ; jiik, jiik, jiik, jiik, yapoilla warri wakārain : jellajellunkawēdthū kudjir wurrakain-Yaowalli pūrapūndo, kūnyū, bethagal, pa kūna, pa tora, pa mūnda, pa mara. Jurabawūlara birura, birrimbaimin, Jurabai-wunnaora māra, nembulo, jeriwan taora yakūnjo waoari-Kūmari yenna thukia, kaor-Bunbillia Ḫurawan Tūtawai punyirimūla kumariwaindo yakūnjo waoari, bimira, guia, Ḫurawunda, kurrū ; yibundaido yakūnjo waoari.

The oven-hole, Tootawa brought the kangaroo out of the oven-hole, carried it on his shoulder, took it to the camp, roasted it, gave a little to his dog, and carried the biggest part to Pooloongool, brought stinking meat to his father-in-law and brother-in-law. "Hush! Pooloongool, your son-in-law will hear you." "Go for meat, bingara." They paddled to the sea, the whole party. They paddled to the sea ; Tootawa jumped about with rage, jump, jump, jump, jump, Tootawa split his tongue, spate the blood west, south, east, and north. The west wind came. They said, "Oh, dear, Pooloongool, you must try to get ashore -

with us. You said a bad word this morning to your father-in-law about the meat. Look at the rain and the wind!" The pelican called out to Pooloongool, "Pooloongool, come here, I'll put you in my canoe." "Get along! I'll carry you in *my* canoe." Pooloongool was getting drowned. "Put me in the canoe, put me in the canoe!" Those went to the shore. The musk duck bailed the water out of his own canoe, dip, dip, dip, dip, drip, drip, drip, drip; went that way to the shore, flapped the lake all the way. They dived and came up again, the black shag, the shag with the white breast. They dive now for the fish, they fish, they feed in the water all day long. There was no wind in former times, all was calm. Tootawa brought all that wind that's blowing now all the time from the west, south, east, north, it blows now all the while.

Version by Hugany, aboriginal of the Wandanian Tribe.

TERRA THARŪMBA.

WUNBULA.

Nadjinajoy, Murrumbul, Mündtha.

Yanilla Kolumbri yētbujillawa Kollyāga Mūpai; Thogun yenna; yanillawa bunguto; "nyeminya,-maurro; iribaoga mirigandtha, wenkinbra, Murrumbul, Mundtha." "Thunnamayāli kunjawōytugāla; tukaoya, yanuija warri thogundtha." Jīga yamnjiana warri; jīga tharar. Ijella tukalinga Murrumbula pa mugai." Ḫirilla munduga mūngāla; māndthilla jirai kūmirgūriyo; minilla mirigano warri pūnanjiwōna; mijilla jerai tharar; yanilla ḫurri thogundtha. "Yanaonyi ḫiunko weukinbra." "Pukerinji, jurabaonyi." Yanillawa wurrigāla. "Ma! jurabaona ḫatenwalla yaoalia, naiaga tūlunya." Kūlala jerabaddi yaoalia ḫatēnwalla; jerumbaddi murrilaora merēro. Munaoragarila; yaoalia yuinyumbūlo Wunbūlerīla.

A THARUMBA STORY.

WUNBULA. *Three stars in a line in the constellation Canis Major.*

The Bat, the Brown Snake, and Black Snake.

He went away from Columbri. Passed Collijaga to Monga Camp there. He went to look for wombat. "There it is, you stop here. I'll go in with my dog, my women Murrumbul and Mundtha." "Our husband makes us tired taking us about, we'll shut him up, we'll go to the camp." That fellow went in far; that fellow came back. "Those have shut me up, Mur-

rumbul and Mundtha." He heard the fly buzz, waited for him going out at the little hole, took the dog a long way under his arm, went outside, went right away to the camp. Let's go for *ngaium*,* women. "Its hot, let's bathe." They went close to the bank. "Come on, let's bathe, you on one side, and you on the other, I in the middle." The jerumbaddy† spear them on this side and that. The jerumbaddy were sticking up. They went to join the Munoura.‡ Wunbula their husband on the other side.

Version by Noleman, aboriginal of the Wandanian Tribe.

DISCUSSION.

Colonel A. LANE FOX drew attention to some customs which appeared to resemble those of the Andamanese, and also to the questions raised upon the discussion which took place on a former occasion relating to the use of the bow by the natives of Cape York. It appears by the evidence of Dr. Creed, that the inhabitants of the Prince of Wales' Island, Cape York, use bows, which they obtain, not from European traders, but from islands farther to the north.

Note on the AUSTRALIAN REPORTS from NEW SOUTH WALES. BY MR. HYDE CLARKE.

In reference to the position taken by Prof. Huxley as to his three black groups in Australia, India and Africa, it may be interesting to state that according to the evidence here given, the elements of culture are the same.

The language of Australia conforms to the aboriginal languages of Africa, and these latter to those of India. In the Journal of the Institute will be found the papers of the lamented Dr. Bleek.

A good illustration is afforded by the words for axe:—

Australia.	Africa.
Yundu, <i>Kamilaroi</i>	Yondo, <i>Nkele</i> .
Gana	Kuno, <i>Gbandi</i> , etc.
Batiyu	Putewi, <i>Pepel</i> , etc.
Gi	Go, <i>Dewoi</i> , etc.
Nogo	Ogo, <i>Uaso</i> .

* The larvae of the ant, which are eaten by the aborigines.

† Barbed spear.

‡ The constellation of the Pleiades.

The probability is, that these are among the pre-historic words used for the stone weapons, as the words for club and spear are those for wooden weapons.

The animal names are of the same origin. Those of the beasts, contained in these vocabularies, are nearly all to be found in Africa. The names of the kangaroo, kangaroo-rat, opossum dog, etc., are found in those of the dog, rat, and monkey.

New South Wales.		Africa.
Kangaroo, burru murui	Rat, mpose, <i>Bumbete</i> ; bera, <i>Houssa</i> , ,, domuru, <i>Pulo</i> , etc.; monkey, emere, <i>Bini</i> .
bandan	..	Dog, gbandi, <i>Gurma</i> ; boandi, <i>Undaza</i> .
wolaru	..	,, wulu, <i>Kono</i> , etc.; rat, wolu, <i>Kaure</i> , etc.
wolaba	..	,, olombua, <i>Pangela</i> .
gorea	..	,, kura, <i>Yala</i> , etc.; rat, guru, <i>Okuloma</i> .
Kangaroo-rat, karnimin		,, karnei, <i>Houssa</i> .
Opossum, kuraki	..	Rat, ikeriku, <i>Igala</i> , &c.; kereku, <i>Opanda</i> .
kuraora	..	,, akura, <i>Ashantee</i> .
bukari	..	Monkey, koara, <i>Mendi</i> , etc.
Bear, kula	..	Dog, galu, <i>Marawi</i> , kale, <i>Houssa</i> ,

Some of the snake-names show conformity:—

New South Wales.		Africa.
Snake, dharu	..	Snake, ntare, <i>Ntere</i> .
munun	..	Fish, monga, <i>Pangela</i> .
mokka	..	Snake, mone, <i>Mano</i> .
nyambuch	..	,, omagena, <i>Pepel</i> . ,, nome, <i>Aukaras</i> .
Eel, burra	..	Fish, ombera, <i>Pangela</i> .
Fish, dun	..	,, ndon, <i>Melou</i> .

The Kamaroi paper of the Rev. C. C. Greenway is valuable for its comparative notes, and affords us some equivalents.

Thus the limbs of a tree include the arm, as with us, but a thick branch is a thigh. The applications of the human terms may have something to do with the notion of a Dryad. The leaf sometimes equals tongue, and the bark, skin.

White man equals demon or spirit, the first white men having been taken for spirits. Mr. Greenway says that bukra among the Africans has the same meaning.

Spear in Australian, as in some other languages, equals tree, wood, and honey, as in Africa, equals bee.

The evidence now accumulating, shows more copiousness of language in the pre-historic epoch than has been allowed for. There is a poverty and a richness, sometimes one word for three or four ideas, but as a compensation, three or four words for one idea.

A curious example is given by Mr. Greenway, two words are used for ear and hear, but these are interchanged in the several dialects.

As the pre-historic languages of America conform with those of the other regions, we have to allow chronologically for the universal diffusion of successive emigrations, and for the wide space by which the members are now separated.

The dissimilarity now observable in the Australian dialects arises from independent development carried over a large epoch, and the phenomena are conformable to those which occur in the animal world as displayed in natural history.

JUNE 26TH, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the Rev. F. S. Davis, of Godalming, Lieut. Fox, R.N.R., Penang, and Dr. Messer, R.N., as members of the Institute, was announced.

The following presents were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the same.

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the Academy.—*Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Vol. I, No. 6.

From the EDITOR.—*Métaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, May, 1877.

From the ASSOCIATION.—*Journal of the East India Association*. Vol. X, No. 2. The Eastern Question in its Anglo-Indian Aspect, by Rev. J. Long.

From the SOCIETY.—*Proceedings of the Royal Society*. Vol. XXVI, No. 180.

From the ASSOCIATION.—*Proceedings of the Geologists Association*. Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 2.

From the EDITOR.—*Revue Scientifique*. Nos. 51 and 52, 1877.

From the AUTHOR.—The Tribes of the extreme North West, by
W. H. Dall.

From the AUTHOR.—Pre-historic remains found at Cincinnati, Ohio,
by Robert Clarke.

From the ACADEMY.—Proceedings and Transactions of the Cracow
Academy of Sciences.

From the AUTHOR.—The Natural History of the Straits of Magellan
and West Coast of Patagonia, by Prof. R. O. Cunningham,
M.D.

From the AUTHOR.—*Studii Craniologici sui Cimpanzé*; Odoardo
Beccari ed I suoi viaggi; Cenni Storici ed Etnologici di un
popolo estinto. 2 parts. Instruzioni per lo studio della psico-
logia comparata; Studi sulla Razza Negrita; Nel cuor dell'
Africa, by Enrico Hellyer Giglioli.

Mr. Burt exhibited the figure-head of a New Zealand war
canoe, supposed to have belonged to the canoe which met Captain
Cook on his second visit to those islands.

Mr. G. M. Atkinson exhibited a piece of gold so-called Irish
ring money, and an ancient ring.

The President made some observations on these exhibitions,
and thanks were returned to the exhibitors.

The Director then read the following paper, which was illus-
trated by a small model of the object referred to.

AN UNDERGROUND STRUCTURE AT DRIFFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

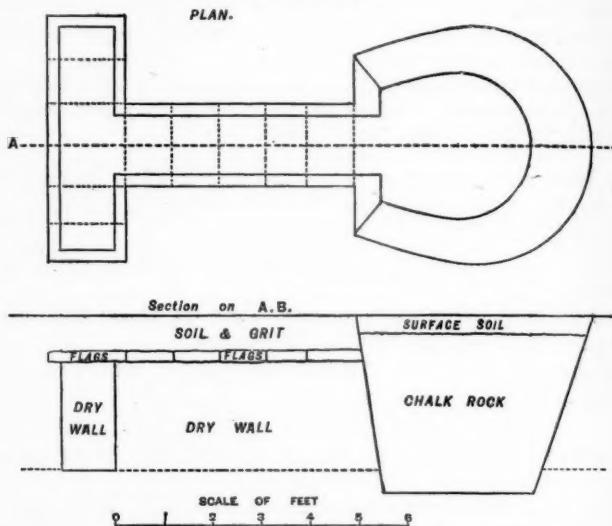
A VERY remarkable underground microlithic structure was
recently discovered on elevated ground, about one mile south-
west of the village of Langtoft, and seven miles north of Drif-
field.

On November 15, 1875, the son of Mr. H. Wilson, of Lang-
toft-field, whilst making stakeholders for a sheep-fold, found
that his gavelock sank suddenly into the ground. This very
unusual occurrence induced him to procure tools and dig down.
At a depth of about 18 inches he came upon some flat chalk
stones forming the roof of a hollow trench. The trench was
neatly walled in with two parallel walls of chalk built without
any kind of mortar or cement, about 13 inches apart, 5 feet in
length, and 2 feet in height.

It contained nothing but one or two inches of dark sooty
matter lying on the bottom, in which were a few small bits of
burnt wood. On the morning of November 17, Mr. H. Wilson
made this discovery known to me, and in the afternoon I visited
the place. It is situated on the northern brow of an elevated
chalk range running nearly east and west.

I observed that Mr. Wilson, junior, had explored for a short

distance a branch of like form and construction running north at right angles to the original opening from its centre. After personally exploring this passage, which was also roofed in with slabs of chalk, and contained a stratum of dark matter at the bottom, I found that after a distance of about 5 feet it ran into a somewhat circular cavity, excavated 4 feet in the chalk rock, some 3 inches lower than the passage.



The cavity measured 3 feet in diameter at the bottom, and 5 feet at the top ; its sloping sides were formed by the naked rock, and there was no trace of any covering stones as in the passages. On the bottom was an accumulation of the dark sooty substance already mentioned, fully 6 inches thick, containing portions of carbonised wood, a nail-shaped bit of iron, and fragments of three vases known as Roman ware ; some of which were much flaked and splintered as if by the action of fire. The remainder of the cavity was filled with rubbly chalk mixed with soil, in some places showing traces of burning, containing portions of animal bones burnt.

The walls of the passages or flue-like portions of the structure showed deep traces of the action of fire. The surface soil, of gritty texture, 18 inches in depth, contained potsherds of a bluish colour, and unburnt animal bones, amongst which we recognised teeth of the pig, sheep or goat, and portions of the horn-core of the ox.

The day after our exploration, Mr. Wilson, junior, pulled down the walls, which averaged 12 inches in thickness, and found that

the heat had been sufficiently intense in certain places to pass through the wall and reddens the packing of soil behind.

A similar structure to this was discovered in the summer of 1874 on one of Lord Hotham's farms at Etton, near Beverley, in the occupation of Mr. Whipp. The discovery was made known by Dr. Stephenson, of Beverley. It was visited at the time by the late Mr. C. Monkman of Malton, and by him described in the "Malton Messenger" as a "Bortontinus formed of two parallel walls of chalk and sandstone, 11 feet in length and about 2 feet high, the hollow space or trough being nearly 2 feet wide, and showing many traces of charcoal and burning. The roofing was of slabs of sandstone, bearing marks of fire. Mixed in the soil over and around it were a large quern or millstone, animal bones, and many fragments of pottery, seemingly of Roman date." These, the account goes on to say, "are deposited at Lord Hotham's mansion at South Dalton." Mr. Monkman adds, "this structure was discovered while ploughing, and the opening was unfortunately carried on through motives of curiosity alone, and its true form was not satisfactorily made out."

From Dr. Stephenson's account, however, and that of others, who saw it when first discovered, I find that there were clear indications of a third arm running in a northerly direction, and ending in a dish-shaped excavation in the rock.

These descriptions show clearly that the Etton find was in every way similar to the one since discovered on Langtoft Wold, except in point of size, the Etton one being the larger of the two. Whatever may have been the use of these (so far as I know) unique structures, the fragments of pottery found in them seem to fix their date somewhere between the first and fifth centuries. That they were not "Bortontini" there is little doubt.

It is hardly probable that the Romans would form such structures for land-marks and then cover them up.

They may be the remains of small potters' kilns, or possibly a kind of oven or cooking-place.

But most likely these rudely constructed underground flues were used (after the Roman mode of heating rooms), as hypocausts for warming some humble dwellings of the Romanised peasantry of the neighbourhood. The millstones, potsherds, and bones of animals scattered in the soil above and around the flues, seem to bear out this surmise.

In conclusion, I trust by making this communication, to induce others to put on record their knowledge of any similar structures in other parts of our island.

The President and Mr. Brabrook, F.S.A., remarked on the above.

Mr. Carmichael, F.R.S.L., than read the following paper.

A BENEDICTINE MISSIONARY'S ACCOUNT *of the NATIVES of AUSTRALIA and OCEANIA.*

FROM *the ITALIAN of* DON RUDESINDO SALVADO. (ROME, 1851.) *By* C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

WE are indebted to the Press of the College of the Propaganda in Rome, for the work which forms the subject of the present paper.* With a considerable portion of the volume, of which the courtesy of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies has enabled us to estimate the value for Anthropological purposes, we are not directly concerned. Writing for a general rather than a scientific public, and with a view to exciting interest in the Australian missions, in which he had borne no small part, Monsigr. Salvado necessarily devotes many pages either to matter with which we are familiar, such as the history of the rise and progress of our Australian Colonies, or to subjects more immediately connected with his missionary work. The general impression, I may remark, which is left upon my mind by a careful perusal of the more purely scientific portions of the book, is that, so far as his personal observation extended, the accounts given of the aborigines by Bishop Salvado are trustworthy, although I might be inclined to suggest the allowance of a certain margin for the favourable view likely to be taken of a race which yielded the first two children to the family of St. Benedict from "Terra Australis." The seat of the mission of New Nursia was in Western Australia, north of the Swan River, in the diocese assigned to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Perth, in 1845, when the ecclesiastical separation from Sydney took place. The company of missionaries of which Don Rudesindo Salvado was a member, seems to have been very mixed in its nationalities. At the head was the new Bishop of Perth, Monsigr. Brady, an Irishman. Next came Don Serra and Don Salvado, both Spanish Benedictines; then Don Confalonieri, from the Italian Tyrol, followed by three French Priests, another Irishman, an English sub-deacon, a French novice, and a Roman, while the student catechists, and the Sisters of Mercy, who accompanied the mission, were all Irish.

* Memorie Storiche dell' Australia, particolarmente della Missione Benedettina di Nuova Norcia, e degli usi e costumi degli Australiani, per Mgr. D. Rudesindo Salvado, O.S.B., Vescovo di Porto Vittoria. Roma, Tip. S. Cong: de Prop: Fide. 1851.

Sailing on the 17th September, 1845, from Gravesend, it was on the 7th January, 1846, that the cry of "land" was raised, and the ship which bore the Benedictine Mission cast anchor in Fremantle Bay.

Landing in Australia entirely ignorant of the language of the aborigines, the method adopted by the missionaries was to write down in a pocket-book every word of which they found out the meaning. The first word whose repetition struck them was "maragna,"* which they discovered to mean "food." And the first opening of friendly relations with the natives, on the foundation of the mission station of New Nursia, was due to the offering of bread and sugar, by which the amicable intentions of the Benedictines were made manifest to the native intelligence. Indeed, Don Rudesindo repeatedly affirms the necessity of providing missionaries with means to clothe and feed would-be neophytes, and to reclaim them from a nomad life. "What you tell us may be true, very true," says the native, "but I am hungry, will you give me some bread?" And if the missionary could not give it, the native would turn his back at once upon Christianity and civilisation. The Benedictines appear to have found the natives ready to work, for they owed the completion of their mission-hut to the help which was willingly offered after they had once established confidence by means of "maragna."

The feelings of gratitude and affection seems also to have been drawn out by the missionaries. After curing some of their native friends, they received the expression of their gratitude in a shape that must have been somewhat trying to the gravity of Benedictine monks. "We are altogether yours," said their late patients, "our wives are your wives, our children your children, all that we have is yours." The principal medicines used are stated to have been salt, English tea, and rice, and fortunately, they always seem to have acted favourably on the sick, so that the missionaries were on thoroughly friendly terms with the natives. They did not hesitate to interfere between them when they saw two parties about to fight. Sometimes the mere presence of the missionaries stopped the intended conflict. When, as happened at other times, the passions of the contending parties were too much roused to admit of so easy a pacification, the monks placed themselves, crucifix in hand, between the two sides, and let the darts hurtle by them until they brought about a truce.

Though often consenting only with a bad grace, the natives

* The word sounded suspiciously in the ears of the Spanish monk, for in his native Galician dialect it happens to mean "deceit." "Memorie," p. 163. "Maragna nel mio dialetto Gallego significa inganno."

never either absolutely refused to give up their weapons into the hands of the missionaries, or fled to avoid giving them up. Their ill humour found a sufficient vent in repeated leaps into the air, and loud cries.

The first attempt made by their diocesan to visit the mission-station of New Nursia proved a failure, through the Bishop loosing his way in the scrub. Upon this Don Rudesindo remarks that although Europeans who lose their way may not see a single native, they are constantly observed by numbers hidden in the bush, who watch their every movement, but never think of coming to their assistance, because it does not occur to them that the white man cannot find his way as easily as themselves.* This seems a probable explanation of what might otherwise be set down to suspicion of the European.

In regard to their religious beliefs, the Benedictines found their native friends singularly and obstinately reticent. If they inquired of a young man, even though he might be more than thirty years old, he professed to be too young to be able to tell them anything, and recommended them to ask the old men. When the elders were questioned, they answered with jests, or pretended not to understand. The most favourable time for talking unconstrainedly with the natives, and learning something from them, was found to be the evening meal, when the men return from the day's chase, sit round the camp fire and tell stories like the Arabs. "These," says Monsignr. Salvado, "are moments worth many months of tramp among the scrub to the missionary who knows how to make use of them." Eventually, the way was found by Don Rudesindo to make some investigations into the question whether his neighbours believed in the immortality of the soul. His procedure was as follows.† "I am not one," he said to some of the natives, "as you think, but two." Upon this they laughed. "You may laugh as much as you like," continued the missionary, "I tell you that I am two in one: this great body that you see is one; within that there is another little one, which is not visible. The great body dies, and is buried, but the little body flies away when the great one dies." To this some replied, "Caia, caia (*i.e.*, "yes, yes"). We also are two, we also have a little body within the breast." On asking what they called this little body, the answer was "Cacin." Then they were asked where the little body went after death, to which various answers were given; some saying behind the bush, others into the sea, and others again that they did not know. Don Rudesindo very wisely did not press the natives further on this occasion, knowing how tenacious they

* *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

† *Op. cit.*, pp. 208-9.

were of the secrecy of their beliefs. But on a subsequent occasion he heard the legend of "Cacin" from some other natives who were on confidential terms with him, and he gives its substance in the following words.*

When a native dies, his soul remains on the branches of a tree,† singing mournfully like a bird, until someone takes her up. When it is known that a soul is going from tree to tree, the natives approach, bent and in single file, beating two little sticks against each other, and making with their voices the sound "ps, ps, ps." Often the soul remains among the trees; but sometimes it comes down, and enters the mouth of the nearest native, remaining within him if he is alone, but if there are others, passing out at his back, through the next, and remaining in the last man.

From the accounts given him by one of the natives, named Bigliagoro, who became attached to the missionaries, Don Rudesindo acquired the conviction that in cases of extreme hunger the Australian aborigines are anthropophagous. By the close of 1848, the Benedictines heard no more of this custom, and hoped that they had succeeded in putting an end to it, as well as to the killing of the third or fourth child by its mother. The natives no longer fled from the white man, but even sought permission to build houses for themselves and their families near the mission station. Of the honesty of the Western Australians the missionaries evidently entertained a very high opinion, never having experienced any losses either of goods or cattle at their hands, and having always found them zealous in going in quest of any cattle that had strayed. Speaking generally of the impression which appears to have been made upon Monsignor Salvado and his companions by the aborigines among whom they had lived, it is in favour of the possibility of raising the Western Australians to a fairly high pitch of civilisation. The idea of the Benedictine missionaries concerning the best means to begin efforts in this direction, was to make their station the centre of an agricultural and industrial village, in which the natives should dwell, each family receiving from the missionaries what was necessary to start them in work on their own account. So the Benedictines hoped they might eventually see around them a village of pro-

* *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

† With this idea may be compared that of the Land Dayaks of Upper Sarawak, of whom, in a paper under that title in vol. iii of *Memoirs* read before the Anthropological Society of London (Longmans, 1870), p. 199, Dr. Houghton says, "The Dayas (*sic*) believe very dimly in a future life; they say the soul is changed into a spirit, *which hovers about the hills and places in the jungle*. These spirits are objects of fear and superstition. Customs are observed on account of them." (The italics are mine, not the author's.)

prietors of land, tillers of the soil which they owned, or rented, and also artisans, so far at any rate as the needs of the village required. This, no doubt, would be, as Don Rudesindo truly observes, a work of years, but it would be a work not unworthy of any missionaries, and would add a fresh title of honour to those already assigned in the pages of history to the illustrious order of St. Benedict of Nursia, for many centuries famed for its protection of learning and civilisation in Western Europe.

Besides the details scattered through the main body of the "Memorie Storiche dell' Australia," Monsignr. Salvado gives further information in the last part of his volume (p. 277 *et seqq.*), from which I shall add a few extracts, so far as they are the result of his personal observation.

In Western Australia the Bishop says that he never met more than one native who was black. Their hair he found in the west to be not woolly (*capelli lanuti*) but smooth (*lisci e biondi*), and often so fair that it would have been envied by a native of Northern Europe.*

He observed this fair and smooth or glossy hair also in a native of the eastern portion of the continent. The Bishop's testimony on this point is rendered stronger, I cannot but think, by the fact, incidentally mentioned, that he had constantly washed and combed the hair of the natives, amongst his varied missionary labours.

As to the probable numbers of the Australian aborigines, Monsignr. Salvado will not venture upon a guess. But whatever they be, he sees with regret that they are rapidly diminishing. This is, indeed, so much the case, that at a meeting of the Anthropological Society of Paris in 1872,† shortly after the reading of M. Topinard's Paper on the Australians, a member quoted the following extract from an English colonial newspaper, the "Australasian," of Melbourne, under date 16th December, 1871, given as an item of news: "A wild man has been seen in the Inigeva Ranges." And as long ago as 1845, the report of a Select Committee on the condition of the aborigines, published in Sydney, gave statistics which are quoted by Monsignr. Salvado,‡ showing that a tribe in the

* Monsignr. Salvado was probably thinking of the Scandinavians when he wrote this sentence. But it may be worth while to note in connection with it an assertion made by Virchow, at a meeting of the Anthropological Society of Berlin, to the effect that in certain parts of Finland, where there is no trace of any immigration, there are inhabitants so fair as to have given rise to the proverb "as fair as a Fin." ("Revue Scientifique," 2nd January, 1875, p. 642.)

† Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, Tome vii (II^e Série), p. 420.

‡ Report, &c., Sydney, 1845, pp. 1-2, quoted, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

neighbourhood of Sydney had dwindled from about four hundred to four, viz., one man and three women. Why the Australian race should have died out at such an excessively rapid rate after the settlement of the European colonists, is not, I think, quite obvious from the account of it given by the Benedictine missionary. I should be inclined to think that his estimate of the power of the race and of the position which it is capable of filling, may be somewhat coloured, however unconsciously, by the apparent success of his mission.

When Monsignr. Salvado speaks from his own personal knowledge of the physical and mental characteristics of the natives, whether of the western, northern, or eastern parts of Australia, with whom he had come into contact, I think his statements worthy of acceptance as those of a careful and intelligent observer. But I am unable to reconcile the indubitable fact of the total extinction of one portion of the Australian race,* viz., that which inhabited Tasmania, and the extreme attenuation of the numbers on the mainland, as testified by authoritative sources of information, with the relatively high estimate of their capacities formed by Don Rudesindo. Perhaps a solution may be found for this difficulty in M. Topinard's view of the co-existence in Australia of a superior and an inferior race. It would then be quite according to analogy that the inferior race should die out before the European, and that the superior race should remain, only perhaps receding more and more into the interior as the European advanced. Indeed, it might be questioned whether the expression cited by Monsignr. Salvado from Byrne's "Emigrant's Guide,"† that such and such tribes of three or four hundred souls had "disappeared" within ten years, is not as consistent with simple retirement into the interior, as with disappearance by death. But it is only fair to Monsignr. Salvado to state his argument in reply to the objection that education has been tried with the Australian and has failed. To this he replies that a purely intellectual education alone has been tried, and that after the savage had been caught in his childhood, and sent to school, where he learned to read and write, and even to perform some of the operations of arithmetic with unexpected rapidity, he has then been taken by the shoulders and thrust back into the bush, where he finds that reading and writing will not enable him to satisfy his hunger.

* I leave this phrase as I originally wrote it, notwithstanding some criticisms passed upon it in the course of the discussion, because I hope to return to the subject and show that there is some authority for its use in the ethnological sense which I had in view. Meanwhile, it may be taken by its opponents in a purely geographical connotation, to which there can be no objection, I conceive.

† "Emigrant's Guide," p. 70, quoted in *op. cit.*, p. 281.

Now although intellectual education is one of the constituents of civilisation, in the case of the savage it ought to be a secondary one. The first step, continues the bishop, should be to give the Australian the power to supply himself readily with the means of existence through a knowledge of agriculture and the simpler crafts, and afterwards to open his mind to learning, and the outer polish of civilised society. This is in accordance with the system partially carried out by the Benedictine himself, and it seems, *mutatis mutandis*, to have been adopted with good results among a much lower race, the natives of Tierra del Fuego. In that wildest and bleakest part of the American continent, a mission station, established by the English Bishop of the Falkland Islands at Oostrovia, on the Fuegian coast in 1868, has, we learn, increased from a single hut to a settlement of more than one hundred Fuegians, while it is resorted to at certain seasons of the year by several hundreds of the natives.*

As to the quickness with which the Australians learn their letters, Monsignr. Salvado bears a very decided testimony. He states that one of the boys whom he taught learned in ten minutes forty letters, partly capitals, partly small text, of various types, comprising five different kinds of letters. Another boy, after a few lessons, would repeat backwards or forwards any numbers composed of from two to nine numerals, augmenting them in succession, but not progressively. A third, of about the same age as the first (unfortunately it is not stated what this age was), learned some arithmetical operations in a few weeks, although the numbers known to the natives do not go beyond three. From a captain of a ship, the Bishop heard of an Australian lad, not yet ten years old (*non ancora bilustre*), who from merely seeing the master take his meridian with a sextant, accomplished the experiment himself successfully, and repeated it several times in the presence of many persons, to show that it was no mere chance. This last incident of course did not occur within Monsignr. Salvado's own knowledge, but what he does vouch for is sufficiently remarkable to suggest a doubt whether the influence of the "glorious Patriarch St. Benedict" may not sometimes have been supposed to intensify the mother-wit of the pupils of the mission of New Nursia.

But throughout his work, Don Rudesindo asserts the great quickness and intelligence of the Australian race. The acuteness (*perspicacia*) of the natives, he says, is so great, that they read in the face the wishes of those who are conversing with them, and answer their questions, even, it would seem, on trivial

* "Pall Mall Gazette," 22nd June, 1877.

matters, as they think the interrogator desires. If asked whether it is likely to rain the following day, or not, instead of answering in accordance with their experience, they reply as they think the questioner wishes.

Two letters, written by natives of Western Australia, whom Monsignr. Salvado took to Italy with him in 1849, and placed in the great Benedictine Monastery of Trinità di Cava, seem to me worth recording in our Proceedings, as specimens of the mastery over writing in a European language which can be reached by this race. The first, written soon after their arrival in Europe, when they were, it is stated about (forse) eleven years old, is couched in short, imperfect sentences, and exhibits the use of the infinitive, probably the first part of a verb which they learned, both for the imperative and indicative. The second, written a year later, displays very marked progress. I am only afraid that it is a little too perfect for the time that had elapsed between the two letters, and I should like to be certain that some of the good monks of La Cava had not touched it up, before sending this specimen of their pupils' progress to the guardian who had placed him under their charge. It is only fair, however, to mention that Monsignr. Salvado professes to transcribe both the letters faithfully (fedelmente). They are, perhaps, the first of the kind brought to the notice of the Institute.

Letter I.

Carissimo Rudesindo, molto noi piace ricevuta lettera tua, e molto noi piace state bene. Noi molto pregare Dio per Australiani e voi. Perchè tu niente venuto monastero luna nuova? Tu venir subito subito a noi fare grande piacere. Noi stare bene assai e contenti. Io Francesco studiare bene; Giovanni così così, ma sempre portare meglio. Tu baciare piede Papa, per Francesco e Giovanni Padre Maestro tutti tre. Tu pregare per Francesco e Giovanni a messa. Noi volere una figura pure. P. Maestro baciare mani te, e tutti miei compagni. Noi baciata lettera tua, baciata mano te e dona benedizione.

CAVA, 25 Ginguq, 1850.

FRANCESCO CONACI,
GIOVANNI DIRIMERA.*

Letter II.

Illustrissimo Monsignore, Con sommo piacere ricevemmo la vostra carissima con la data Luglio per mezzo della quale conoscemmo che stavate bene in salute, lo stesso vi assicuriamo di noi. Speriamo che le vostre faccende vi lasciassero libero

* "Memorie," pp. 293-4.

almeno pochi giorni, affinchè potessimo avere la consolazione di rivedervi e baciarsi la mano. Per darvi un attestato della mia condotta nello studio vi rimetto un decreto, che ebbi nei saggi pubblici di Settembre insieme alla medaglia di argento col grado di moto bene, la qual le tiene conservata il P. Maestro. Vi ingraziamo dell' figurine di santi che ci avete mandate, e vi preghiamora e portarei un libretto di orazioni dove vi sia il preparamento per la SS. Comunione. Vi baciamo caramente la mani e fanno lo stesso e miei compagni, specialmente D. Silvano; e chiedendovi la santa benedizione mi soscrivo.

CAVA, 18 Luglio, 1857.

Vostro Affmo. in Cristo,
FRANCESCO SAVERIO CONACI.*

To the question, what is the religion of the Australian aborigines, Monsignr. Salvado gives an answer based, as he tells us, on close study of the subject during three years of mission life at New Nursia. The conclusion at which he arrived is that they do not adore any deity, whether true or false. Yet he proceeds to tell us that they believe in an Omnipotent Being, creator of heaven and earth, whom they call Motogon, and whom they imagined as a very tall, powerful, and wise man of their own country and complexion. His mode of creation was by breathing, *e.g.*, to create the earth, he said, "Earth, come forth," and he breathed, and the earth was created. So with the sun, the trees, the kangaroo, &c.; unfortunately, the Bishop does not mention whether he had told the natives the Mosaic account of the creation before they gave him this version as their own. Montogon, the author of good, is confronted, according to Monsignr. Salvado's report, by Cienga, the author of evil. This latter being is unchainer of the whirlwind and the storm, and the invisible author of the death of their children, wherefore the natives fear him exceedingly. Moreover, as Motogon (possibly worn out by his goodness) has been long since dead and decrepid (the epithets are those supplied by Monsignr. Salvado, and I do not pretend to explain how a dead person, or spirit, can be decrepid), it is no wonder that they no longer pay him any worship. What is remarkable, however, says Don Rudesindo, is that, although the natives believe themselves to be afflicted with calamities by Cienga, they do nothing to propitiate him. The Bishop's words on this point are unequivocal, and all the stronger from his evident surprise. Never, says he, did I observe any act of external worship, nor did any indication suggest to me that they practised an internal worship. When a sudden thunder storm comes upon them, they raise

* *Op. cit.*, p. 294.

hideous cries, strike the earth with their feet, imprecate death and misfortune upon Cienga, whom they think the author of it, and then take refuge under the nearest trees. The Bishop, who is here evidently speaking from recollection of such a scene, says that he remained out in the storm, rather than shelter himself under the dangerous cover of the trees ; but the natives assured him that the lightning never struck the bent and twisted (tortuos) trees under which they took refuge. And this the Bishop found to be the case, so that it may be said of the Australian native, that there is a method even in his seeming madness. One day the Bishop met a young girl after sunset, standing still in terror, because she said that Cienga was on a neighbouring tree, looking at her. The Bishop, thinking it might be a bird, threw some pebbles at the tree, and finally took the girl's hand, and led her towards it. Before reaching the tree she cried out in a loud and glad tone of voice, "there he goes." But the Bishop saw neither bird nor demon. The general belief, he says, is that Cienga prowls about at night among the trees, and for this reason the natives can scarcely be got to stir from their fire after sunset. Only mothers who have lately lost a child will brave these dangers to go in quest of its soul, and if they hear the cry of a bird in the bush, will spend hours there calling upon it, and begging it to come to them. So strong is the Australian mother's love.

If a native is killed by a thrust of the "ghici," a wooden spear, about 9 English feet long, and pointed at its thickest end, his countrymen think that his soul remains in the point of the weapon which caused his death, and they burn it after his burial, so that the soul may depart. They think that the soul feels the night chills, and therefore light large fires after the burial, and sometimes keep them up for about a month.

They believe that anyone who dies from sickness dies under the influence of their medicine men, whom they call "Boglia," and whom they believe to be able to kill at great distances. This power to slay is considered to reside in certain stones in the stomach of the "Boglia," and to pass from father to son among that class.

They regard the sun as a friendly, the moon as an unfriendly power. They consider the moon to be masculine, and the sun to be its consort. The moon is accompanied on its passage through the heavens by numerous hounds, whom it sends on the earth to procure it food. When it comes down itself for food it often carries off the children of the natives, but is compelled by the sun to restore them. They abuse the moon in the very strongest language they possess. They think that the stars are married, and, like the sun and moon, have large families. They believe

the stars are offended at being named ; the morning star they call "Tonder." They seldom mention the names of the dead, and then only in a low voice (*sotto voce*).

To cause rain, they tear off the skins that they wear, and breathe upon them, so as to blow them in the direction from which they want the rain to come. When they wish to stop rain, they set fire to a piece of sandal wood, and strike the ground sharply with it. They are afraid to drink water at night from any large pool, because they think it the habitation of the great serpent Uócol,* who will kill them if they drink. Monsignr. Salvado found that they would not go, and at first they would not tell him the reason. At last one native said to him, "if we go and take the water we shall be killed ; if you go you will not be killed." Seeing that some superstition was at the bottom of this terror, the Bishop went towards the water and quenched his thirst, the natives following him in a row (*tutti in fila*), and in silence. When he had drunk as much as he wanted, and moved away from the pool, the natives immediately called out to him to stop. In going home they ran ahead of him in a body, so that he should be the last ; and when he scolded them for their foolish belief, they answered him scornfully, "you know nothing about it." For fear of this same serpent Uócol, the natives never bathe in pools whose dark colour is a sign of their depth, as they say he lies at the bottom, and they dread him even in daylight.

Concerning the native system of government, Monsignr. Salvado thinks the ordinary application of the word tribe, which many people, he says, apply to any body of more than half a dozen natives, is inaccurate. According to the researches which he was able to make, each family is an independent society, governed by its father or head, and he was unable to perceive that any such head claimed the right to command other chiefs, or those subject to them. If a native is injured, he himself takes vengeance, and if he is weaker than his enemy, calls upon his relations and friends for help. According to Bishop Salvado, therefore, the Australian aborigines live under the family rather than the tribal system. Although each family is subject solely to the laws of its own chief in most matters, there are yet certain

* A somewhat similar superstition regarding the occupancy of pools and swamps by a gigantic serpent, is related of the Indians of the Mosquito Territory, in a paper by Mr. John Collinson, C. E., in vol. iii of the Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, p. 153. "These mythical reptiles are called *wowlvahs*, and are believed by the natives to inhabit certain out-of-the-way swampy pools and marshes, where they grow to an enormous size, live for ever, and have the capability of swallowing a canoe full of men at a time. No Indian will stop near their supposed abode for fear of arousing their anger, and so compassing his own destruction."

laws of general application, which might be termed laws of the community, in so far as the aggregation of families in a loose sort of tribal federation may be held to constitute a community beyond the limits of the family. There is, for instance, a general law that no young man shall marry under thirty years of age, and if one confess that he has done so, he may be killed by any of the elders who hates him. It might have been expected that under such a system land would have been held by the family, rather than the tribe, or the individual. But Monsignr. Salvado asserts that each individual has his own portion of land, where he may hunt and gather gum and roots. "Often," says the Bishop, "have I heard a native say to another, this is my country, yours is Cànturbi (a place near New Nursia), go away." But here, I think, there is a contradiction in the Bishop's own language, as well as an inexactitude, for immediately afterwards he says, "each family, therefore, forms, as it were, its own peculiar and exclusive district, which is used in common by other neighbouring families who are at peace with it." What the Bishop's testimony seems to indicate is family ownership, as distinguished both from tribal and individual ownership. It is an adverse possession, for if a stranger or an enemy is found within its limits he is put to death. But I think the Bishop's language is consistent only with the conclusion that the individual has not yet emerged among the Australian aborigines, and that the ownership of the soil is in the family. Of the language of the natives, Monsignr. Salvado says that it possesses both the gravity of the Spanish, and the softness of the Italian.

The general similarity of the language* in different parts of the continent, leads him to believe that all the dialects spring from a common stock. He also believes the race to be one, while M. Topinard and others have argued strongly in favour of the existence of two races in Australia. In their poetry, says the Bishop, there is a repetition which would be irksome to us Europeans, while to the Australians it is a source of delight. Some of their songs are improvised as occasion gives rise to them, but others have been handed down by traditions, or have

* In proof of this similarity and original identity, Monsignr. Salvado adduces at p. 304 the following table of the words for hand and eye in various parts of Australia :

	New Nursia.	Perth.	King George's Sound.	Adelaide.	Sydney.	Moreton Bay.
The Hand	Mara	Mara	Mur	Mara	Mura	Mara
The Eye	Miel	Miel	Mil	Mena	Miel	Mil

come from distant parts, so that it happens not unfrequently that the musical motive alone remains, while the words of the song have been altered. When a native returns from some distant part of the country, he brings back with him some of the songs which he has learned among the tribes whom he was visiting. If he likes them he sings them in their original form, but if he does not like them he is apt to change both the words and the air, and make them ridiculous. Their war songs rouse them to frenzy ; their laments move them to tears. For the hunt and the dance they have songs that make them merry. They accompany their singing with the clash of arms, and with the same accompaniment they mark the rhythm of their dance. Of the songs of the Australians, Monsignr. Salvado does not* give us any specimen, but he quotes one fragment of a funeral song of the natives of Oceania, which may not unfitly conclude my brief and, I fear, imperfect summary of the Benedictine Missionary's interesting volume.

"The time that remaineth is a perpetual night unto us,
The sun that cheered us is eclipsed.
The moon that lightened us is darkened.
The star that led us has vanished.
We have lost our all.
What will become of us without the glory of our land ?
Our life henceforth will be a burden to us."

DISCUSSION.

Mr. CORNELIUS WALFORD suggested that the dying out of the native race referred to in the paper, was not necessarily due to contact with civilisation. Other influences came into operation. It was indeed stated in the paper that the natives killed their third child if it chanced to be a female. He assumed from that fact that polygamy did not prevail with the race in question. Polygamy and infanticide combined would reduce the population of any country. Under such conditions more girls than boys would be produced ; and if the female children were killed off, of course the numbers must in time die out. Again, where the means of subsistence were precarious, small families were regarded as a necessity. So too in countries where property was divided equally among all the children. The parents in such cases thought two children, to take the place of themselves when they died off, were sufficient. But those who were familiar with the law of mortality, knew that in order that two children might survive their parents, something like an average of four children in each family would be needed—two would die off in their parents' lifetime ; the other two would survive, and take the place of their parents. France, by a neglect or disregard of this fact, presented, at least in the towns,

* *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

a decreasing population. The country districts compensated by having larger families; and so the population of the country was prevented from going backwards. In France indeed the smallness of the families was not due to the scarcity of the necessities of existence, it was rather due to the luxurious tendencies of the people, coupled with the law regulating the division of property among all the children of the family equally. It was remarkable to see the opposite conditions of savage life, on the one hand, and the refinements of luxury on the other, leading up to the desire for limitation of families, and so operating, in the end, to the restriction of population. He considered the paper a valuable one, and threw out the preceding suggestions with a view to its main features being properly considered.

In reply, Mr. CARMICHAEL said: That he thought Monsignor Salvado attributed the decrease in the numbers of the Australian aborigines rather to habits of intemperance, and to diseases acquired by contact with Europeans, than to the custom of infanticide in certain cases. With respect to the tenure of land, there seemed to be a confusion in Monsignor Salvado's language, which led him to doubt whether the individual, in the judicial connotation of the word, had emerged as an owner of the soil among the Australians. Monsignor Salvado certainly maintains the unity of the race as well as of the language, while Topinard and other foreign Anthropologists believe that they have found in Australia signs of the co-existence of a superior and an inferior race.

*The ETHNOLOGY of GERMANY.—PART 3. By HENRY H.
HOWORTH, F.S.A.**The MIGRATION of the SAXONS.*

THE Saxons are first mentioned by name by Ptolemy, who wrote about A.D. 90. He tells us that the Frisians occupied the sea coast beyond the Busacteri (*i.e.*, the Bructeri) as far as the River Ems. After them the Lesser Kaukhi as far as the Weser, then the greater Kaukhi as far as the River Elbe; then on the neck of the Kimbric Chersonese, the Saxons. Then on the Chersonese itself, beyond the Saxons, the Sigulones, on the west; then the Sabalingii, then the Kobandi; beyond whom the Khali, and even beyond these, more to the west, the Phundusii; more to the east, the Kharudes; and the most northern of all, the Kimbri. And after the Saxons, from the River Khalusus to the Suebos, the Pharadini. (Latham's "English Language," 42.) In another place he speaks of three islands situated near the estuary of the Elbe and called Saxon, the largest of which was in long. 31° and lat 57° . Let us examine these passages carefully. Ptolemy tells us the Pharadini

lived beyond the Saxons, between the River Khalusus and the Suebos. Zeuss says the Khalusus can only mean the Trave ("Die Deutschen, etc." 150); and it seems to me that it must be either the Trave or the neighbouring Swentina. The Suebos, he suggests, and is followed in doing so by Latham, is the Oder (*id.*, 154, Latham's "Germania," cxxix); but Ptolemy has a special name for the Oder, namely, the Wiados, and it is quite gratuitous to suggest, as Zeuss does, that he has blundered in using the two names (*op. cit.*, 154); and I believe the Suebos is the Warnof. This is more probable, because the Trave and the Warnof are to this day the political boundaries of a famous old State, namely, Mecklenburgh. This is, however, a minor difference, and there can be no question that Mecklenburgh, whether as far as the Oder or not, was the country defined by Ptolemy as that of the Pharadini. Zeuss has argued that Pharadini is a corruption of Spharadini, and would connect the name with the Suardones. (*Op. cit.*, 154, note.) But this is very far fetched, and the postulating of corruptions is an unsatisfactory method, and especially when, as in this case, the true solution seems so obvious, that one cannot understand how it has been overlooked. This district was the old homeland of the Varini, and traces of their name are no doubt to be found in those of the district of Wagria, and of the River Warna which gives its name to Warnof and Warnemünde. Now Pharadini is merely another form of the name Varini, which varied a good deal; the indigenous form being almost certainly Varing or Waring, and the important root-syllable of the name being Var or Phar; and I have no doubt that the Pharadini of Ptolemy are the Varini of other authors. This view is confirmed by the fact that it makes the eastern limits of the Saxonland of Ptolemy coincident with those of the Transalbingian Saxons of mediæval times. We thus limit the Saxons on two sides, namely, on the east by the Swentina or the Traye, and on the south-west by the Elbe. Let us now examine their northern neighbours. From the fact that the Eyder is not named by the classical authors, it has been urged that it was then a tributary of the Elbe, or rather that both fell into a common basin; and we know that the whole coast of North Friesland has been greatly shattered by inroads of the sea. Ptolemy's position for the mouth of the Elbe is in fact where the Eyder falls into the sea, namely, one degree north from the mouth of the Weser, and three and a-half south of the northern point of the Danish peninsula; while he plants the three Saxon islands of which he speaks, one degree from the mouth of the Elbe, and so far northwards that Heligoland must have been the most southerly; and he separates them from

other Cimbric islands, which he calls the Alokian Islands. ("Die Gens Langobardorum," by Friedrich Bluhme, pp. 8-9.)

Let us turn once more to Ptolemy's description. He tells us that beyond the Saxons, on the Chersonese itself, and on the west, lived the Sigulones. The River Eyder was known in mediæval times as the Egdora, and the letter G in this form seems to be a euphonious addition. It may well be the same in Sigulones, and we then have the name Siulones or Siyulones; and it is very satisfactory that in regard to this name I had quite independently arrived at the same conclusion as Dahlmann. In the descriptions of Otheres' voyage, there is mention made of a district of Sillende, which as Porthan and Dahlmann agree, meant the present Duchy of Schleswig, otherwise known as South Jutland or Schleiland; and in the anonymous "Vita Hludovici," and also in Eginhardt, sub ann. 818, we are told how the soldiers, when they crossed the Eyder, came into a district called Siulende. (Dahlmann, "Forschungen," 437-9; Hampson, 36.) The same district is called Sin Jutia by Petrus Olaus, and answers to the modern Duchy of Schleswig.

I have therefore no hesitation in identifying the Sigulones of Ptolemy with the inhabitants of Schleswig, and we are thus enabled to fix tolerably accurately the original homeland of the Saxons in the time of Ptolemy as conterminous with the district of Holstein. While the three Saxon islands are very probably to be identified with three of the islands of North Friesland.

As we know from subsequent notices, the Saxons were essentially an aggressive and warlike race, and given to pushing their frontier and elbowing out their neighbours, and there is no reason to believe that this faculty was first developed in the fourth century. It would seem, on the contrary, from their not being mentioned by earlier writers than Ptolemy, especially by Tacitus, that they were new comers into the district of Holstein when Ptolemy wrote. I hope to try to trace them to their earlier seats in another paper of this series. As I have said, their country in the time of Ptolemy was Holstein.

When we next hear of the Saxons, we find them making descents upon the coasts of the empire. We will first consider their attacks on the borders of the English Channel.

This question has been well treated by Schaumann in a tract which lies before me, entitled "Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Englands durch germanische Sätmme," Göttingen, 1845. He tells us the Romans named the whole north of Gaul which bordered on the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel Armorica, a name of Celtic etymology, meaning situated along

the sea ; and the name was apparently in use among the indigenes before the Romans arrived. "Universis civitatibus, quæ Oceanum attingunt, quæque eorum consuetudine Armorice appellantur" (Cæsar, VII, 75). This use of the name, according to Schaumann, still survives ; peoples peaking of "l'Armorique de Plougerneau." (*Op. cit.*, 5.)

The tractus Armoricanus of the Romans apparently connoted the whole strip of country on the coast from the Loire to the Scheldt. More lately it was divided into five provinces, thus described in the "Notitia Dignitatum Imperii," a work apparently composed in the time of the Emperors Arcadius (382-408) and Honorius (390-423). "Extenditur tamen tractus Armoricanus per provincias quinque, per Aquitanicum I et II; Senoniam, Lugdunensem II et III." (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 5-6.)

It would seem that during the third century this tract was subject to piratical attacks from Saxons and Franks, and it was placed in charge of an officer named "the comes maritimi tractus," a kind of "warden of the Cinque Ports," whose duty it was to command the local militia and the local fleet, with his head-quarters at Gessoriacum, the later Bononia or Boulogne.

The most important of these commanders was named Carausius, who was appointed by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (287-96.) (Lappenberg, 1, 44.) He is called a Batavian by Eumenius, and a Menapian by Aurelius Victor. As there was a Menapia in Wales as well as in Belgium, some of our annalists make Carausius a Briton, and this has been made the subject of much ingenious writing. But there can be small doubt he belonged to Menapia in Gaul, and was perhaps of German or quasi German origin. The fullest account of him is given by Eutropius, who wrote about the year 360 A.D. He tells us that Carausius, who was a person of ignoble birth, who, having created a considerable military reputation, was given the command at Boulogne, with the duty of protecting the coasts of Belgica and Armorica (*i.e.*, the northern seaboard of Gaul), from the attacks of the Franks and Saxons, who then infested that coast. He made many captives, but as he did not return the booty which he recaptured either to the people who had been plundered, or to the emperor, suspicion arose that he was in league with the robbers, and that he allowed them to escape. And Maximian having ordered him to be put to death, he made himself emperor, and took possession of Britain. (Mon. "Hist. Britt.", lxxii.) The same story is told by Orosius, *id.*, lxxix and lxxx.

Carausius was a much more important character in western history than is generally supposed. It would seem that as guardian or count of the maritime district, he had charge of

both sides of the Channel, both being infested by the pirates, and both being protected by one Channel fleet. As Mr. Dircks says, the country on either side formed one "littus," one government, entitled *comitis maritimi tractus*. (Dircks, "Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits Sceattas.") The command of the Channel and the fleet made him absolute master of Britain when he raised the standard of revolt there. He was also wealthy enough to buy the allegiance of the local legions. M. Genebrier has calculated, from a study of the numbers of the legions on his coins, that he could command an army of 64,000 men. (Dircks, *op. cit.*, 15, note 2.) He adopted the title of Augustus, defeated the troops of Diocletian and Maximian, and constrained them to resign to him the government of the country he had conquered. And coins were struck with the heads of the three emperors on their obverse, that of Carausius radiated, the other two bare, and having the inscription "Carausius et fratres sui" on them. (Dircks *op. cit.*, 14, note 1.) He retained his power for about seven years, and was assassinated about 293 by Allectus, who only kept his position for three years, when he was in turn overthrown by the troops of Asclepiodorus, the general of Constantine.

The ten years' usurpation had, however, left its mark on the western world. Carausius was apparently on terms of close friendship with the Saxons and the Franks; and while we read in the pages of the panegyrist Mamertinus, how Maximian drove a body of mercenary Franks from London, we do not read of any attacks from the Saxons during the usurpation; nor did they apparently dare to make many descents during the reign of the succeeding powerful emperors. We have, in fact, to pass on nearly a century before we again meet with them.

The author who next names them is Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished about A.D. 380. He describes how about the year 364, the Picts and Saxons, the Scots and Attacots ravaged the coasts of Britain. (*Op. cit.*, Bohn's trans., 413.) Four years later he tells us that the Picts were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and the Vecturiones, and that while they with the Scots and Attacotti were ravaging one part of Britain, the Franks and Saxons who lived on the frontiers of Gaul, were also ravaging the country wherever they could effect an entrance by sea or land, plundering and burning and murdering all the prisoners they could take. (*Id.*, 453-4.) Here it will be noted that the Saxon attacks are specifically said to have been made by invaders from the borders of Gaul.

The same author tells us that in the year 360 a vast multitude of Saxons burst forth, and having crossed the difficult passage of the ocean, made towards the Roman frontier by forced marches.

The first brunt of their attack fell upon the Count Nannenus, a veteran general of great merit and experience. He was wounded in the struggle, and asked for assistance of the Emperor, who sent Severus. According to Ammianus the Saxons were so disconcerted at the brilliant appearance of the standards and eagles, that they implored peace and pardon. This was granted them after some discussion, one of the terms being that they should supply a certain number of young men for military service. They were then allowed to withdraw to their own country, on leaving their baggage behind; the Romans, with the basest treachery, having agreed to their terms, planted an ambuscade in which they expected to entrap the unwary strangers; but some of their people were too eager, and the Saxons being warned in time, fell upon them with a terrible yell, and committed a dreadful slaughter. Another body of Romans however, came to the rescue; the battle was renewed, and was fought desperately. None of the Saxons, says Ammianus, returned home, for not one of them survived the slaughter; and although, says the candid historian, an impartial judge will blame the action as treacherous and disgraceful, still if he weighs all the circumstances, he will not regret that a mischievous band of robbers was at length destroyed, when such an opportunity presented itself. (*Id.*, 493-4.) I am afraid posterity hardly endorses the complacent conclusion of the Roman historian, and will be apt to say that when the coasts of the empire were presently harried most bitterly, and their towns burnt, that it was not without ample provocation. One important fact mentioned in this paragraph, to which attention must be attentively directed, is that we are told the Saxons when they made their descent on the empire, came by sea, and after a long voyage. This is surely consistent with their having come from Holstein and the borders of the Elbe, but not with their having come from Nether Saxony, which at no point touches the sea.

Ammianus Marcellinus again mentions the Saxons a few years later, and tells us how about the year 374 they attacked the empire with extreme ferocity, making descents in every direction where they were least expected, and penetrated into the inland districts. They were, he tells us, attacked by Valentinian, and destroyed, but again by treachery, and he recovered all the booty which they were carrying off. (*Id.*, 567.)

Our next author is the poet Claudian, who flourished about the year 400. In his panegyric on the fourth consulship of Honorius, A.D. 398, he says:—

"Quid rigor æternus cœli, quid sidera prosunt,
Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."—(Saxones, Com-
mentatio, etc., Moller, 10; Latham's "English Language," 45; Mon. Hist.
Brit., xciii.)

Again, in his address to Eutropius, in 399:—

"Tum sic orsa loqui (Roma) Quantum te principe possim
Non longinqua docent; domito quod Saxone Tethys
Mitior, et fracto secura Britannia Picto."—(Mon. Hist. Brit.,
loc. cit.)

Again, in his poem on the first consulate of Stilicho, in
A.D. 400:—

"Illi effectum curis, ne tela timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne litore toto
Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis."—(*Id.*)

Lastly, in his Epithalamium on Palladius and Celerina, he
says:—

"... Constringit in unum.
Sparsas imperii vires, cuneosque recenset
Dispositos: quæ Sarmaticis custodia ripis
Quæ ævis objecta Getis, quæ Saxona frenat
Vel Scotum legio," etc.—(*Id.*)

These rhetorical passages are rather of value as showing how wide-spread the terror of the Saxon arms was, and in whose company they generally were, than for aught else.

We now come to the time when the famous survey of the empire was made, which is known as the "Notitia Dignitatum Imperii," which, as I have said, was written about the beginning of the fifth century. We find in that document, that a part of the Littus Maritimum had acquired the name Littus Saxonicum; thus we read, "sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis tractus Armoricanus et Nervicani tribunus cohortis primæ novæ Armoricæ, Grannona in litore Saxonico." Grannona has been accepted by the antiquaries of Normandy as without doubt identical with Granville in the Cotentin. (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 6.)

Eastward it extended at least as far as Marcq, in the neighbourhood of Calais; "Marcis, in litore Saxonico," as it is called. This name, which means march or frontier, doubtless points to their eastern limit. We may take it therefore with Schaumann, that the Littus Saxonicum in Gaul comprised the whole of Normandy, a part of Artois, and also the northern part of the Roman province of Lugdunensis Secunda. (*Op. cit.*, 6; Dircks, 16, note 5.)

On the opposite site of the Channel was a second Littus

Saxonicum, which is described as "sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam." The names of the stations within the jurisdiction are given as Branodunum (*i.e.*, Brancaster in Norfolk), Gariannonum (Yarmouth), Regulbio (Reculvers), Rutupiae (Richborough), Dubris (Dover), Anderida (Pevensey), Portus Adurni; so called from the River Adur, and now represented by Bramber Castle (Lewin, in "*Archæologia*," 439); Othonæ, the Ithancester of the Saxons, situated at Saint Peter's Head, in the parish of Bradwell in Essex (Lewin, *op. cit.* 439); and Lemanis (Lymne). (*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, xxv.)

As Dr. Latham says, it is safe to say that the whole line of coast from the Wash to the Southampton water, was in the reign of Honorius, if not earlier, a Littus Saxonicum. Although there was a Littus Saxonicum on either side of the channel, it was only on the British side that we find an official count of the Saxon shore, and this leads Schaumann to the conclusion otherwise probable, that at this time the maritime tract of northern Gaul was a dependence of Britain. (*Op. cit.*, 7.) It would seem that Rutupiae or Richborough had taken the place of Boulogne as the station of the fleet. We thus find the borders of the English Channel on either side named Littus Saxonicum. Whence did it derive this name? Some writers would have it that it was derived from the fact that this tract of land was subject to the attacks of the Saxon pirates, and was thence designated Littus Saxonicum; but as Lappenberg says, this appears as contrary to the principles of sound philology, as it is unhistorical. (*Op. cit.*, I, 46.) As Palgrave says, it would be an anomalous thing to find a country called after its invaders, and not after its inhabitants; and the view would probably never have been urged unless with the intention of bolstering up the traditions and fables about the early colonisation of Britain contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The only reasonable conclusion is, that the Littus Saxonicum took its name from the people who settled there, who, as Dircks says, came from the neck of the Danish peninsula, and passing by the land of their relatives, the Frisians, who were a brave race, and much attached to their country, planted themselves as colonists in the lands of the empire, which was growing weaker and decaying. This view is the only reasonable one. That many of the Saxons were not mere pirates at this time, but were in close relation with the empire, we may gather from the same "*Notitia*," where in describing the garrisons of the eastern part of the empire, we read of an Ala Saxonica being stationed in Phoenicia. (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 20.) They thus furnished recruits to the Roman armies, like their relatives, the

Batavians, etc., and were therefore at this time in all probability settled on the Roman frontier.

This fact is again supported by Jornandes, who tells us that in the campaign which *Ætius* fought against the Huns in 431, he was assisted *inter alia* by detachments from the Saxon colonies of Armorica.

We may be certain therefore, that at the commencement of the fifth century, the coasts of the channel on either side were either partially or completely settled with colonies of Saxons.

Dr. Guest, in a famous paper published in the Salisbury volume of the "Transactions of the Archaeological Institute," and which is not less remarkable for its learning than for its extraordinary reasoning, has attempted to answer the arguments of Kemble and others on this head. He argues in the first place, that there is no evidence of the opposite coast of Gaul having been occupied by Saxon colonists before the invasion of Hengist in Kent; but the "Notitia" proves the contrary, if our arguments are sound, since it was written fifty years before the arrival of Hengist as given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Doubtless, feeling this, Dr. Guest proceeds to argue against the usual and natural interpretation of the phrase "Littus Saxonicum." He argues as if littus and limes connoted the same thing. Limes unquestionably meant a march or frontier, and was applied in the phrase "Limes Saxonicus" to the frontier line between the Danes and the Saxons in Holstein; but littus means shore, and as I have already mentioned there was actually a mark proper, bounding the Saxon shore on the east, and still represented by the village of Mark: "Marcis in Littore Saxonico" is the phrase in the "Notitia," and Mark, be it noted, is not a Celtic or Latin gloss, but a Teutonic one.

Dr. Guest strengthens his contention by a statement that in one instance, and that, according to him, the most important, the Count of the Saxon shore in Britain is styled not Comes Litoris Saxonici, but comes limitis Saxonici. His words are, "when the officer commanding in this district is formally mentioned, and his authority defined, he is styled comes limitis Saxonici per Britanniam." In two other places where he is merely mentioned as one of the subordinates of some imperial officer of higher grade, he is distinguished as Comes Litoris Saxonici per Britannias. The use of the plural number seems to show, that in this phrase the compiler was using vague and general language. The more definite title was no doubt the official one." (*Op. cit.*, 33.) I am afraid that even this ingenious argument must be surrendered, for I find from the later and more critical edition of the "Notitia" by Böking, that the reading of limes for littus in one place is not sustainable. (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 8.)

The arguments of Palgrave, Kemble, Schaumann, and Dircks on this head seem to me unanswerable. I will quote what Kemble says as singularly apposite. "The term *Littus Saxonum*," he says, "has been explained to mean rather the coast visited by or exposed to the ravages of the Saxons, than the coast occupied by them: but against this loose system of philological and historical interpretation I beg emphatically to protest; it seems to have arisen merely from the uncritical spirit in which the Saxon and Welsh traditions have been adopted as ascertained facts, and from the impossibility of reconciling the account of Bede with the natural sense of the entry in the *"Notitia;"* but there seems no reason whatever for adopting an exceptional rendering in the case; and as the *Littus Saxonum* on the mainland was that district in which members of the Saxon confederacy were settled, the *Littus Saxonum per Britannias* unquestionably obtained its name from a similar circumstance." ("Saxons in England," edition Birch, I, 14.)

We may add to the arguments here and previously employed, another drawn from the names of the towns mentioned as the stations within the *Littus Saxonum*. Several of these, as Dr. Haigh has pointed out, bear names of distinctly Teutonic type, and were doubtless derived from their Saxon holders. Thus Regulbium, the modern Reculvers, seems undoubtedly compounded with the Teutonic name Raculf, Anderida with the Teutonic name Anderid. "The name of Dover, latinised into *Dubris*," says Mr. Isaac Taylor, "reminds us of Dourves on the Saxon shore, near Bayeux; and of Dovercourt in the intensely Teutonised district near Harwich, as well as of Dovrefield in Norway. Mr. Lewin, however, derives it from the river *Dur*, which flows close by. (*Archæologia*, 41, 436.) Thanet, also a Teutonic name, appears in the pages of Solinus, an author not later than the fourth century." ("Words and Places," 145.) These facts seem to show overwhelmingly that the English shores were settled by a large Saxon colony long before the time of Hengist.

Having discussed the notice in the *"Notitia,"* we have now to resort once more to the panegyrists, and shall quote from Sidonius Apollinaris, who wrote about 455. He tells us in one of his epistles, that an envoy from Saintonge reported upon the new ships and tactics adopted against the Saxons, whom he designates archpirates, and further tells us they were not only acquainted with the sea, but were at home there. (Moller, *op. cit.*, 10, note, 32.)

To these epistles of Sidonius are added certain verses; among them we find the following:—

"Istic Saxona cærulum videmus
Assuetum ante salo solum timere
Cujus vesticis extimas per oras."

Addition to Epistle ix :—

"Non contenta suos tenere morsus
Altat laninem marginem comarum
Et sic erinibus ad cutem recisis
Decrescit caput aditurque vultus."

Again, at the end of Epistle viii :—

"Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Brittanum
Ludus et assueto glaucum mare findere lembo." —

(Moller, *op. cit.*, note.)

Again :—

" Victricia Cæsar (*i.e.*, Julius)
Signa Caledonios transvexit adusque Britannos
Fuderit et quanquam Scotum et cum Saxone Pictum." —

(Mon. Hist. Brit., C.)

We must now have recourse to another set of authorities, namely, the orthodox accounts of the landing of the Saxons in Britain.

When we compare the various notices we have mentioned, with the traditional accounts preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, we shall indeed wonder at the credulity of some modern historians.

Let us commence with the South Saxons. We have three notices of them in the Chronicle before the arrival of Augustine. In the first we are told how, in 477, Ælli, with his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, landed in Sussex; we are then told they defeated the Welsh in 485, and lastly, that in 491 they destroyed the people of Anderida.

Now in regard to the first notice, we are told the invaders came in three ships. Hengist and Horsa are likewise said to have invaded Kent with three keels. The West Saxons also arrived in three ships. The three Gothic tribes of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidae also went in three ships to the mouth of the Vistula. The Longobards migrated in three divisions. "The readiest belief in fortuitous resemblances and coincidences," says Kemble, "gives way before a number of instances whose agreement defies all the calculation of chances." (*Op. cit.*, i, 16.)

Ælli, the invader, bears a name quite foreign to the Saxons, while it is a well-known name among the Angles, two of their kings having borne it. I have small doubt that his name has migrated from some northern source. "It is remarkable," as Lappenberg says, "that Ælli of Sussex is the only one of the founders of Saxon kingdoms whose genealogy is not given, which is in

itself a very marked fact. Again, we are told by Bede, he was the first Bretwalda. It is strange that a second one is not named for a century ; and if, as Lappenberg urges, we accept the statements of Bede and the Chronicle as to the facts of the invasion, and if we take into consideration the narrow compass of the Germanic possession in Britain at that time, we may safely ascribe the Bretwaldaship of *Ælli* to the liberal pen of the poet who has left us so circumstantial an account of these early conflicts." (*Op. cit.*, i, 106.)

I believe that he has been manufactured out of some misunderstood reference to the northern *Ælli*, the son of Ida, who was a Bretwalda.

Ælli's three sons, we are told, were called Cymen and Wlencing and Cissa. As Mr. Earle and others have pointed out, these names appear to be only fanciful, the offspring of rude etymological speculations, answering as they do to the names of three Sussex townships ("Parallel Chronicles," Introduction, ix); Cissa at Chichester (Cissan Ceaster) and Cisbury; Wlencing at Lan-
cing; and Cymen, according to Mr. Daniel Haigh, at Keynor (Cymenesore), in Selsey. ("Conquest of Britain," 270.) The charter in which Cymenesora is mentioned, is however marked as spurious by Kemble.

It is curious that the capital of the South Saxons should in the legend have been called after Cissa, and not after his father *Ælli*, who was living, according to the Chronicle, in 491.

It may be that *Ælli* has also been created out of Elstead in Sussex. (Haigh, *op. cit.*, 270.) The names of *Ælli's* three sons are not mentioned by Bede, nor by the Welsh annalists, and were, there can be no doubt, manufactured like so many other eponymous names were elsewhere, from geographical sites.

It is well nigh certain from another argument, that the names of two of the sites referred to were given them in Roman times. This follows from the second elements of the names being Latin, *e.g.*, ora in Cymenes-ora, and ceaster in Cissan-ceaster. It was not the habit of the Saxons after their landing to found new settlements on Roman sites, and to give them mongrel names compounded of those of their chiefs and of Latin particles. Where we find the latter, we find old cities which date from before the Teutonic *conquest*, although some of them no doubt date from the times of Teutonic settlement in Roman days. Again, Anderida, which the invaders are said to have besieged in 491, and killed all the Britons there, was, as we have shown, one of the towns of the Littus Saxonicum, and colonised no doubt by them long before.

The whole account of the foundation of the South Saxon State is in fact a fable, to be classed with the fables about the

descent of the Britons from Brutus, and of the Danes from Dan ; and I have no doubt that the plantation of that district, and perhaps also of the country north of the Weald, dates from the colonisation of "the Saxon shore" in the days of the later Roman empire.

Let us now consider the Saxons further north. Here they in later times apparently formed two sections, the Middle and East Saxons, in Middlesex and Essex.

"No territory," says Lappenberg, "ever passed so obscurely into the hands of an enemy, as the north bank of the Thames, where the kingdom of the East Saxons comprised the counties of Essex and Middlesex, of which the latter continued, probably for some time, in a state of independence." (*Op. cit.*, i. 112.)

I can find no evidence anywhere of Middlesex ever having formed a separate kingdom, and the conjecture that it did so, which is very general, has no doubt arisen on *a priori* grounds only. I believe, on the contrary, that the Middle Saxons were formerly in contact with the South Saxons, and probably occupied Kent, whence they were forced inland by the invasion of the Jutes, who when they landed, landed on the *Littus Saxonum*. It was when the Jutes interposed a barrier between Sussex and Essex, that the names South, Middle and East were doubtless applied to the various sections of the Eastern Saxons. It seems incredible that if we accept the date of the Chronicle, namely, 477, for the foundation of the kingdom of the South Saxons, that the former should have been called South Saxons at all. They were the first Saxons to come. They would have styled themselves Saxons simply, and given qualifying names to the others. But such was not the case ; and we can only explain it by supposing that all were fragments of a homogeneous race which was scattered and broken. Again, if there had been any early annals and traditions about the royal races of South Britain, we may be certain that Middlesex, with its chief city of London, the capital of the country, and its most famous centre, would not have been left blank.

Again, in reference to the East Saxons. It is to be remarked that no account of the foundation of their kingdom is given either by Bede or in the Chronicle, a proof that no traditions survived. It is only when we come down to the twelfth century that we find Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmesbury, constructing genealogies for their kings, which are clearly fabulous. Henry of Huntingdon dates the commencement of their kingdom in 527. (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 712.) William of Malmesbury dates it in 587. The former calls their first king Ercanwine, while the genealogical table attached to

Florence of Worcester, makes their first king be named *Æscwine*. The Ercanwine of Huntingdon is no doubt a corruption, as both he and Florence agree in making him the son of Offa. Both agree in making *Æscwine's* son Sledda, and Sledda is made the first king of the East Saxons by William of Malmesbury. *Æscwine* is said to have reigned the fabulous time of sixty years. His name is merely a corrupt patronymic, connected with *Æsc*, the stem father of the Jutish race in Kent; and this explains our difficulty. The first really historical person in the history of the East Saxons was Sebert, the nephew of Ethelbert, the king of Kent, in whose time Christianity was first planted in Essex. And I have no doubt that the later race of Essex kings was derived from the Jutish kings of Kent. The Chronicle in fact tells us Sebert was appointed king by *Aethelbert*. Previously to the Jutish invasion, Essex formed a portion of the Littus Saxonum, as Lappenberg has in fact suggested. (*Op. cit.*, 112.) Then it had no separate kings or chiefs, but was subject like the rest of the Saxon shore to the Roman rulers of Britain. And when it had separate kings, they seem to have been merely administrative officers appointed by the rulers of Kent. As Palgrave says, though Sebert was king of Essex, yet Ethelbert joined in all important acts of government. This was the fate of Essex; it was called a kingdom, but it never enjoyed any political independence, being always subject to the adjoining kings. (Palgrave, "History of the Anglo-Saxons, 40.") In regard to both the South Saxons and East Saxons, in confirmation of my contention that they were never independent kingdoms, but merely appanages or dependent viceroyalties, is the very extraordinary fact that neither of them had a coinage; all the really independent sovereignties of Britain at this time, such as Wessex, Kent, Mercia, East Anglia, Deira and Bernicia, had a coinage.

As the error is a very perverse and general one, I am tempted to strengthen my position still further by a quotation from Palgrave, that most able scholar, to whose researches we owe more than one can well calculate. He says, "Concerning the conquest of the eastern shores of Britain, the British bards are as dumb as the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers. No conquests in the ancient territories of the Iceni are claimed by the victors; no defeats lamented by the vanquished. Both parties, both nations are equally silent. If, as is very probable, this part of the Littus Saxonum had begun to receive a permanent Saxon colonisation during the existence of the Roman empire, we may suppose that these settlements spread the way for additional colonies, who occupied the country without further struggle or conflict, for it is very remarkable that the Britons have not even preserved a tradition respecting this country."

("History of the English Commonwealth," i, 384-5.) "Again," as Mr. Isaac Taylor says, "in Essex and Suffolk there is a smaller proportion of Celtic names than in any other district of the island, and this would indicate that the Germanisation of those counties is of very ancient date." ("Words and Places," 144.) I hold therefore that in regard to the South Saxons, the Middle Saxons, and the East Saxons, they made no conquests from the Welsh, but were descendants from colonies planted along the channel in the days of the Romans. This opens up a new vista of inquiry, which I hope to prosecute further when we deal with the Jutes in a future paper. Having examined the *Littus Saxonum* in Britain, let us turn to its complement across the Channel.

Schaumann argues, as I think, very forcibly, that the settlement of the Saxons on both shores of the Channel was the work of Carausius, who we learn from Eutropius (IX, chapter xxi) was on terms of friendship with the Saxon and French pirates. Their settlement on either coast was accompanied by the foundation of new towns, and alterations in the topographical nomenclature. Of a famous old station in the land of the Viducassi, nothing more is now heard. Its site has been fixed by the Roman antiquaries at Vieux. Alauna, the chief town of the Unelli, probably now represented by Valognes, also disappears, while Gessoriacum, the chief port on the coast, is renamed Bononia.

That the new people on either shore of the Channel were planted as colonists, and did not occupy the land as hostile invaders, appears from a curious fact to which sufficient attention has not been drawn. In the districts of Bayeux and Coutances, were planted, according to the "Notitia" "Læti gentiles," and also Franks and Suevi, the latter a generic name, probably including Saxons. In the district of Senonia Lugdunensis, there was a *Præfectorum Lætorum Teutonicianorum*, which Schaumann explains as the superintendent of the German colonists. This being one of the earliest instances of the use of the word Teutonic in a generic sense. (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 15.) I would like to add to these facts, one overlooked by M. Schaumann, namely, the existence of the well-known Lathes in Kent, no doubt derived from these Læti. These Lathes existed elsewhere in England, and were perhaps general in those districts forming the *Littus Saxonum*. They were, at all events, found in old times in Warwickshire. (See Dugdale's "Warwickshire.")

The Saxons then, as I contend, were planted as colonists. Like other similar colonists, they retained no doubt their own institutions, religion, and organisation, and furnished the empire with a contingent of irregulars, were in fact rather feudatories,

than subjects; while the Comes Littoris Saxonici filled a position probably similar to that of the late Austrian Governor of the military districts of Slavonia.

When the Roman authority became weak and impotent, the various military colonists apparently broke away from their allegiance, slowly but definitely, and having no one to control them efficiently, became dangerous neighbours. It is thus we explain the passages in Ammianus Marcellinus about the Saxon inroads in the reigns of Valentinian the First and Second. (Schaumann, 18.) These attacks are contemporary with another very eloquent one. Among the Roman stations in Normandy, Bayeux was probably the most important, and there there are still found an immense number of remains; but their date does not come later than the time of Valens and Gratian, when they suddenly cease, as if the Romans were then ousted by their unruly colonists. Still, as I have mentioned, we find a cohort of Saxons among the Roman troops in the east, mentioned in the "Notitia," while Jornandes reports that a contingent of the race assisted Ætius in his wars, but that they had ceased to be subjects, and were now allies. From the narrative of Zosimus, we learn that not only Britain, but also Armorica (which term, probably, was used in its wide sense), was free from Roman control. The Romans returned for a short interval in 416, under the prefecture of Exuperantius and Littorius (Schaumann, 21). But a more vigorous foe was at hand. We read how in 428 Chlodio, the chief of the Franks, who was settled with his people at Duysburgh, advanced by Cambray as far as Arras, and in near neighbourhood therefore to the Littus Saxonicum.

The auxiliaries furnished by Armorica to Ætius in 457, among whom the Saxons are specially named, as I have mentioned, are referred to in a very important phrase by Jornandes. He says of them, "quondam milites Romani, tunc vero jam in numerum auxiliariorum acquisiti," i.e., the former subjects had now become allies.

The Roman hold upon Gaul was now reaching its term, and the Franks finally overwhelmed it. *Inter alia*, they no doubt came into conflict with the Saxons of the maritime tract, a race too proud to bend easily to the yoke of the Franks, and we accordingly find that a section of the Saxons was busy elsewhere.

Ægidius, the Roman ruler of Gaul, was dead, and the Franks were governed by the licentious Childeric, father of Clovis. It was now, and about the year 464, that we are told by Gregory of Tours, that Odoaker (Adovacrius in his orthography) with his Saxons went to Angers, which with other towns gave him hostages. At Angers he was apparently soon joined by the

Frank chief Childeric, who put the Count Paul (doubtless the Roman Governor) to death. A struggle now ensued between the Franks and the Saxons, in which the latter were defeated, and fled, leaving many dead behind them. *Their islands*, we are told, were taken and ravaged by the Franks, who killed many of their inhabitants. Childeric, we are told, made a treaty with Odoaker, and they together subjected the Alemanni who had invaded Italy. (*Op. cit.*, II, xviii, and xix.) The islands here mentioned were, according to some, the islands in the estuary of the Loire. (See Spener "Notitia Germaniae Antiquae," 362, note; Moller, *op. cit.*, 29.) But Schaumann identifies them more probably with the Channel Islands. (*Op. cit.*, 24.)

The "Chron. Moissiacense," in reporting the same event, says Odoaker went by sea with a naval host to Angers. (Moller, *op. cit.*, 29; note, 79.)

I have small doubt that it was the pressure of the Franks that set Odoaker in motion. He went, as I have shown from the Chronicle of Moissiac, with a naval host. The Saxons were still sea folk, and I have no doubt whatever that the same pressure which sent him away, drove many of the Saxons beyond the Channel to settle on the opposite coasts of Britain. I shall refer to these fugitives again presently.

It would seem that a large body of the colonists from the Littus Saxonicum must have gone, for we now find them reduced to much narrower limits. A proof of their former extension inland is to be collected from the fact that in the "Gesta Regum Francorum," the pagus Suessionensis is on one occasion called Saxonegus, and Fredegar, in his chronicle, calls the town of Soissons Saxonis. (Schaumann, 28).

The chief settlement of the Saxons which remained was in the district of Bayeux. On turning to Gregory of Tours we find him in the year 578 describing the campaign of the Frank King Chilperic against the Bretons. He tells us the men of Tours, of Poitiers, of Bayeux, of le Mans, and of Angers, marched with many others into Brittany to attack Waroch, the son of Malo, and halted on the River Vilaine. We are told that Waroch there fell unexpectedly upon the Saxones Baiocassenses, i.e., the Saxons of Bayeux, and killed the greater part of them. He afterwards made peace with Chilperic, gave his son as a hostage and also surrendered the town of Vannes. (*Op. cit.*) Here we find the Saxons of Bayeux mentioned as an integral part of the people of the Frank kingdom and fighting, under the royal banner.

A few years later, namely, about the year 590, during the reign of Childebert, we are told how the Bretons committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Nantes and Rennes, and

thereupon Guntran, the king of Burgundy, the uncle and patron of Childebert, ordered an army to march against them, headed by Beppolem and Ebrachain, who quarrelled on the way. Beppolem was a *persona ingrata* to Fredegunda, the famous Messalina of these times; and we are told she sent the Saxons of Bayeux, who wore their hair cut short like the Bretons and also dressed like them, to the assistance of Waroch. Beppolem marched against these confederates alone, and fought against them for two days, killing many Bretons and Saxons. Meanwhile, Ebrachain remained behind, and determined not to join in the fray until he heard that Beppolem was killed. This happened on the third day after many of his men had perished and he had himself been wounded, when we are told Waroch and his Saxons fell on him and killed him. On the approach of Ebrachain, Waroch tried to escape with his treasures by sea "to his islands," i.e., probably to the Channel Islands; but his ships were wrecked, and he had to sue for peace. (Gregory of Tours x, 9.)

Several names which occur at this time seem to me to have belonged to Saxons of this maritime colony. Thus Leudovald, bishop of Bayeux, and Marculf, the missionary to the Channel Islands, &c., while it is not improbable that Waroch, who has a very Teutonic looking name, was also a Saxon.

The adventure last described was the last in which the Saxons of Gaul took a conspicuous part. They now became (such of them as remained behind at least), subjects of the French Empire. The notices we have collected, and the positions they occupied, prove that they must have been a very important element in the population of Northern Gaul, and their influence upon Breton history has not been sufficiently appreciated. This is a subject, however, beyond our present purpose.

In order to complete my survey of the Continental Saxons, I will now add one or two further notices of them which I have met with.

The Saxons, as I have shown in a previous paper, although not Kheruskans proper, occupied the land of the Kheruskans, and became in consequence Kheruskans, as the English became Americans. We thus explain how it is that in the life of the missionary Saint Eligius, who spread the faith among the Saxons of Gaul, we are told that in order to make himself understood among them, he sought out an interpreter who knew the Kheruskan speech. (Schaumann, 16.)

The Saxons, as I have said, were thickly settled in Brittany itself. This we learn from Venantius Fortunatus, in his poem addressed to Felix Bishop of Nantes, speaks of his civilising and converting the Saxons. (Spener, *op. cit.*, 365, note.)

Let us now come down a little later. We find in a capitulary issued by Charles the Bald in 844, that he ordered several *missi dominici* to visit Neustria or Normandy; and among the districts he orders them to visit, were two named the Otingua Saxonica, and the Otingua Harduini. (Dupont. "Le Cotentin et ses Iles," 83.) In another document of the same reign, we find the king granting certain estates in the same district of Otingua Saxonica. (Liquet's "Normandy" i, 33.) This district was probably situated in the district of Calvados, and was no doubt named from its Saxon settlers. I shall revert to it again presently.

In the memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy, we read that a coin of Charles the Bald was found in the year 1818, at Caen, with this inscription on the obverse, Karolus D.G. Rex; on the reverse J. Curti, Saxonien.

In the same district are still two parishes known as Haute and Basse Allemagne, the latter was formerly known as Notre Dame des Champs d'Allemagne. (Schaumann, 27.)

In the May number of the "Ausland" for 1845, an account of various customs prevailing in northern France along the shores of the channel is given, which, as Schaumann says, are surprisingly like those found in the valley. He specially names among these the gathering or knots of spinning girls, the employment of summoners to wedding feasts with their staves (?), the ceremonial at banquets and on festive occasions. These customs do not prevail all over Normandy and Brittany, but only in secluded hamlets, and these are found within the limits of the ancient Littus Saxonum. (Schaumann, 27-8). But perhaps the most striking testimony to the former presence of a large Saxon population along this coast, is to be gathered from its local nomenclature.

The advance of the Franks caused, as I have said, a considerable migration from Gaul.

The migration took place probably from certain districts only, while we have every reason to believe that in the neighbourhood of Boulogne and also of Caen considerable colonies remained behind. In regard to the former locality, Mr. Isaac Taylor has examined the question with great care and ingenuity, and has given a very eloquent map. He says in the old French provinces of Picardy and Artois there is a small well-defined district, about the size of Middlesex, lying near Calais, Boulogne, and Saint Omer, in which the name of almost every village and hamlet is of the pure Anglo-Saxon type; and not only so, but they are most of them identically the same with village names to be found in England.

Thus we have he says:—

FRENCH DISTRICT.	CORRESPONDING ENGLISH NAMES.
Warhem	Warham, Norfolk.
Rattekot	Radcot, Oxon.
Le Wast	Wast, Gloucestershire, Northumberland.
Fréthun	Freton, Norfolk.
Cohen, Cahem and Cuhen	Cougham, Norfolk.
Hollebeque	Holbeck, Notts, Yorkshire, Lincoln.
Ham, Hame, Hames	Ham, Kent, Surrey, Essex, Somerset.
Werwick	Warwick, Warwickshire and Cumberland.
Appegarbe	Applegarth, Dumfries.
Sangatte	Sandgate, Kent.
Guindal	Windle, Lancashire.
Inghem	Ingham, Lincoln, Norfolk, Middlesex.
Oye	Eye, Suffolk, Hereford, Northampton, Oxon.
Wimille	Windmill, Kent.
Grisendale	Grisdale, Cumberland, Lancashire.

"We have also," he says, "such familiar English forms as Graywick, the river Slack, Bruquedal, Marbecq, Longfosse, Dalle, Vendal, Salperwick, Fordebecques, Staple, Crehem, Pihem, Dohem, Roqueton, Hazelbrouck, and Robeck. Twenty-two of the names have the characteristic *ton*, which is scarcely to be found elsewhere upon the Continent, and upwards of one hundred end in ham, hem, or hen. There are also more than one hundred patronymics ending in *wig*. A comparison of these patronymics with those found in England, proves beyond a doubt that the colonisation of this part of France must have been effected by men bearing the clan names which belonged to the Teutonic families which settled on the opposite coast. More than eighty per cent. of the French names are found in England, etc." ("Words and Places," first edition, 138-41.) It is very curious to find that the village of Marck, the Marcis in Littus Saxonicum as I have already mentioned, is on the eastern boundary of this colony of names adding another proof that the Littus Saxonicum was a district really colonised by the Saxons. The second colony of names, which represents no doubt the Saxones Baiocassenses of Carlovingian times, can still, according to Mr. Taylor, be sharply defined by means of its local names. "It will be seen that in the departments of the Eure and of the Seine Inférieure, where the Danish names of a later period are so thickly clustered, hardly a single Saxon name is to be found, while in the department of the Calvados, and in the central position of La Manche, where the Danish names are comparatively scarce, their place is occupied by names of the Saxon type. The Northmen seem to have respected the tenure of their Teutonic kinsmen, and to have dispossessed only the Celtic tribes who dwelt to the east and north-west of the Saxon colony. In this neighbourhood we find Sassetot (Saxon's-field) Hermanville, Etreham, or Ouistreham (Westerham), Hambze,

Le Ham, Le Hamelet, Cottun (Cow's-yard), Elainhus, Hewland (Hayland), Plumetot (Bloomfield or flowerfield), Douvres, which reminds us of our own Dover, and Caen, which was anciently written Cathem and Catheim. There are also about thirty patronymics. It is curious to observe in how many cases we find the same families on the opposite coast of Hants, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. In the whole of Cornwall there are only two patronymic names, and both of these are also found among the thirty on the opposite coast.

FAMILIES OF THE	NEAR BAYEUX	IN ENGLAND AT
Berings ..	{ Berengerville Beringuy }	Berrington, Durham, Gloucester, Salop, Worcester.
Bellings ..	Bellengreville ..	Bellinger, Hants.
Basings ..	Bazeuville ..	Basing, Hants.
Bobbinga ..	Baubigny ..	Bobbing, Kent.
Callings ..	Caligny ..	Callington, Cornwall.
Ceafings ..	Chavigny ..	Chalvington, Sussex ; Chevington, Suffolk.
Cofings ..	Cavigny ..	Covington, Huntingdon.
Ceardings ..	Cartigny ..	{ Cardington, Beds, Salop ; Cardington, Cornwall.
Graegings ..	Gravigny ..	Gravingham, Lincoln.
Hardings ..	Hardinvast ..	Hardinghuijsh, Wilts.
Ifangs ..	Juvigny ..	Jevington, Hants.
Maerings ..	Marigny ..	Marrington, Salop.
Potings ..	Potigny ..	Podington, Dorset.
Seafings ..	Savigny ..	Sevington, Kent.
Sulings ..	Soulangy ..	Sullington, Sussex.
Dhyrings ..	Thoungy ..	Torrington, Devon.

(“Words and Places,” 148–9.)

These two colonies, one in Artois and Picardy, the other in Calvados, were, I believe, the fragments which remained behind of the former Saxon population of Neustria, who once in all probability occupied the whole land from Marck near Calais to the frontier of Brittany. The gaps represent where the Saxon population migrated; and where they migrated to is the next and final subject of this paper.

We have still left for consideration an important section of the English Saxons, namely those of Wessex. Their settlement in Britain I believe to have been different to that of the rest of the Saxons there. They did not occupy a part of the “Saxon shore,” and the traditions about their first settlement and spread are more definite, but as we shall see, they are, if not fabulous, quite untrustworthy. First in regard to their great leader Cerdic. I have not seen it before mentioned, but it is a very strange fact that this is apparently not a Teutonic name at all, but a British name, the well-known name Caradoc, or Ceredig, as it is otherwise written, and which gave its name to Cardigan; and further, there seems to have been a British chief living at this very time who fought against the invaders, and whose name

has apparently been borrowed by the later fabulists and annalists, but not perhaps directly. Just as we have a Cymenes ora in Sussex, where Cymen is said to have landed, so we are told that Cerdic landed at Cerdics ora, which has been identified with Charmouth. Here again ora is a Latin termination, making it almost certain that the name Cerdics ora is older than the Saxon invasion. These two facts make us entirely doubt the existence of Cerdic as a Saxon leader. I had written so far, and arrived at this conclusion entirely independently, when on turning over the pages of Palgrave, I came upon the sentence, "It does not diminish our perplexities to find that the Saxon name Cerdic is evidently the same as the British Ceretic or Caradoc, and that some of the British princes claimed their descent from this very Gewissa (*i.e.*, Cerdic's ancestor in the third degree), whom they describe as a female ("English Commonwealth," I, 398, note.)

It is not perhaps very extraordinary that I should have come independently to the same conclusion as Sir Francis Palgrave, in regard to the etymology of the name Cerdic, but it is surely very strange that so many recent writers should have treated Cerdic as a *bona fide* Englishman. The remark of Sir Francis Palgrave about Gewissa is a very fertile one. Not only was the name used by the Britons, and given to one of their princesses, but it is quite evidently not a Saxon name at all in form, but is in all probability of Celtic origin. The name is an interesting one, and for once I believe the pseudo Asser's statement to be a reasonable one. On naming this Gewissa, he adds a "quo Britones totam illam gentem Gegwisi nominant." (Mon. Hist. Brit., 468.) And we find a confirmation of this in the "Annales Cambriæ," where we read under the year 900, "Albirt, *i.e.*, Alfred rex Guiuys moritur." (*Id.*, 836.) Lappenberg and Geoffrey of Monmouth in reporting the old Welsh traditions, mentions the Gewissians more than once. On the other hand, the name is quite unknown to the English writers, except Bede, who tells us the West Saxons were formerly called Gervissi. Here, as in other places, he proves whence he derived his materials, namely from the old Welsh writers, among whom alone the name was home-grown. But Gewissa and Cerdic are not the only British names in this genealogy. We are told in it that Cerdic was the son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla and Esla of Giwis. Elesa and Esla seem forms of the same name, and neither of them have a Teutonic look, and one of them at least is assuredly British. Helised is named by the pseudo Asser as one of the Welsh kings who was contemporary with Alfred, while Heli is the name of a British king in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

It is almost certain therefore, that a number of the names in the genealogy of Cerdic as given in the Chronicle, are of British origin. It is very strange, as I have said, that Cerdic does not occur in Bede, nor is he named, so far as I can find, in the Welsh accounts of the invaders as one of the chiefs of the latter. It is further a remarkable fact, that in the various notices of the founders of the West Saxon monarchy in the Chronicle, with one exception, the people of the island are called Brettas and not Walas, as in the narratives of the other invaders. All these facts make it almost certain to me, that the account of Cerdic is a distorted, if not utterly fabulous version of some Welsh tradition. But let us examine the story somewhat further. We are told Cerdic landed at Cerdics ora with his son Cynric, in 495, and the same day fought with the Welsh. Nothing more is said of the invaders till the year 501. We are then told that Port and his two sons Breda and Magla came to Britain with two ships, and landed at Portsmouth. Hitherto nothing is said in the Chronicle about the West Saxons; but under the year 514 we read, that "the West Saxons came to Britain with three ships at the place which is called Cerdics ora, and Stuf and Wihtgar fought against the Britons and put them to flight. Elsewhere, "sub. ann. 534." Stuf and Wihtgar are called Cerdic's nephews; and we are told that having conquered the Isle of Wight, Cerdic and Cynric gave the island to their two relatives. (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 301.) These names and statements have been the subject of much criticism. Dr. Latham has made some pertinent remarks about them. "In regard to Port or Portus, he says it must have been simply the Latin name of Portsmouth, long anterior to A.D. 501. But the landing of a man named Port at a place called Portsmouth, is no impossibility; granted; it is only highly improbable; the improbability being heightened by the strangeness of the name itself, heightened also by the following fact. Just as a man named Port hits (out of all the landing places in England) upon a spot with a name like his own a man named Wihtgar does the same."

Now Wiht is the Anglo-Saxon form of the name Vectis, a name found in the Latin writers long anterior to 530, while gar is a form of ware or waras = inhabitants. Hence just as Kent = the County Kent, and Cantware = the inhabitants of that county, or Canticolæ; so does Wiht = Vectis, and Wiht-gare = Vecticolæ. Yet the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes it a man's name. The names of Port and Wihtgar give us the strongest possible proof in favour of the suggested hypothesis, viz., the "*ex post facto* evolution of personal names out of local ones." ("English Language" fifth editon, 28.)

It seems quite clear that the whole story has been manufactured at a later period; the names where the battles were fought as Cerdicsford, Cerdics lea and Cerdics ora are variously forms of Charmouth, Charford, etc. The very dates are outrageous. Cerdic, like Hengist, is made to reign forty years in Britain, and after his death Cynric, who arrived with him, reigned twenty-six years more." (Kemble, *op. cit.*, 30, note).

Port the eponymos, formed from Portus, we are told, came with his two sons, Bieda and Magla. I have small doubt myself that Bieda and Magla are also merely eponymous names, and I shall have more to say about them when I come to treat of the Jutes.

We are told that in 508 Cerdic and Cynric fought with the British Prince Natanleod. If one wishes to see how far perverse ingenuity can go in building up a fabulous story, I would commend my hearers to read Dr. Guest's remarks on this name in his famous paper in the Salisbury volume of the "Transactions of the Archaeological Institute." It is sufficient here to state that such a person as Natanleod is not only unknown to Bede and the Welsh Chroniclers, but, to add a note of Mr. Earles, which I cordially endorse, he says, "In 508, a local name Neatanleah (now Netley) which probably means *a pasture for oxen*, is ambitiously associated with one of the most famous of British dynastic names." (Earle's "Chronicles," introduction, ix.)

Natanleod, in fact, is another name made up and constructed in the same fashion as Port. In 514, we are told the West Saxons came to Britain with three ships, and landed at Cerdics ora. This seems like another version of the story told in 495 of the arrival of Cerdic and Cynric with five ships, at Cerdics ora. If it be not, then it is clear that Cerdic and Cynric were other than West Saxons. Again, as Mr Guest himself has said, it seems strange that nineteen years after the arrival of the two chiefs, the West Saxons should have found Britons to oppose them. And yet another curious fact turns up in 519, when we are told Cerdic and Cynric took possession of the West Saxon kingdom. Again Stuf and Wihtgar are made the nephews of Cerdic in the "Chronicle," which also makes them rule over Wight after it had been conquered by Cerdic, while Bede tells us Wight was conquered and held, not by Saxons, but by Jutes.

The fact is, the story from end to end is utterly ridiculous, and it is almost incredible how so many writers should have blindly followed it. I shall not prosecute this criticism further. It is enough to have shown that the Saxons, when the "Chronicle" was written, were in the same position as they were in the days of

Bede, and had no reliable traditions about their first arrival in the island. Dr. Guest enlarges on runes, and conjectures at large upon the calendars kept with runes, but he nowhere adduces any evidence that runes were known to the Saxons at all. I believe they were utterly unknown to them, and so was writing, until their conversion to Christianity. The Angles used runes undoubtedly, but the Angles were not Saxons, and I am confident I am speaking justly, when I say that neither in Westphalia, Engern, or Ostphalia, nor in the Littus Saxonum of Gaul, nor yet in the districts occupied solely by the Saxons in England has a rune been found ; and further, it seems pretty certain that if any written calendars had existed, they would have existed in Nether Saxony and in the Gallie Saxonum, no less than in Britain ; nor would Bede, as he certainly did, have gone to the pages of Nennius and the Britons for his account of the invasion and of the early invaders. It is thence modern historians must derive an account of the history of the fifth and sixth century in these latitudes, and not from the fables of the "Chronicle," which are of the same value in regard to the foundation of the early Saxon States, as is Livy with his stories of Romulus and Remus. This, however, we cannot prosecute at present. Having however rid ourselves of certain fables and fabulous tales, we have a comparatively *tabula rasa* to begin our story with. Whence then did the West Saxons come from ?

Bede, as we all know, tells us the Saxons came from Old Saxony. He tells us further the Old Saxons were otherwise called Ambrones.

By Old Saxony, Bede undoubtedly understood Nether Saxony. His use of the synonym Ambrones has been a puzzle to most inquirers, nor am I satisfied with any of the received explanations. The nucleus of Nether Saxony was, as I have said, Engern, or as I would rather call it, the Weserthal, the valley of the Weser. Now one of the feeders of the Weser in the very heart of Engern, and not far from Paderborn, is the Ambra or Embrine. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Nether Saxons who settled in this district were known as Ambrones ; but let us on with our story. Bede, as I have said, derives the Saxons from Old Saxony, by which he understands our Nether Saxony.

Now we have shown whence the Saxons of the Littus Saxonum came, whence also the Nether Saxons came, and that they were both offshoots of the seafaring Holsteiners of the second century A.D., which was not the Old Saxony of Bede. And on turning to the oldest traditions extant among the Old Saxons themselves, namely, those reported in the account of the translation of Saint Alexander, we do not find a syllable about

the English Saxons being a colony from that district, but the reverse. The Old Saxony of Bede was shut out from the sea by the Frisians, except in the narrow district of Hadeln, between the Weser and the Elbe. Whence then did the West Saxons come from, whom we have reasons for believing arrived later than their western neighbours, and when the *Littus Saxonicum* had been colonized? I cannot find a more plausible or likely solution than that propounded by Schaumann, that they came from the other side of the English Channel. Opposite to Wessex lay the *Otlingua Saxonica*, and the *ot* in this phrase has been explained by Schaumann and Dircks as equivalent to *oret*, that is old. The former writer argues that the *Old Saxony* of the tradition was this Gallic *Saxonica*, this *Otlingua Saxonica* in Normandy; and that when the distracted Britons sought succour against the Picts and other invaders, they did not go to Nether Saxony, which was far beyond their reach, and doubtless also their knowledge, and inhabited by terribly barbarous races, but went across the channel to the Saxon tract there, whose inhabitants must have been well known. I quite concur in this conclusion, but not in the etymology of *Otlingua*, favoured by Schaumann. I much prefer the explanation of it given by Depping and Grimm, who derive it from *Atheling* or *Etheling*, the Saxon for a noble. Taylor compares the name with *Athelney*, formerly *Athelinga igge*. ("Words and Places," 147.) We must remember that the beginning of the sixth century was synchronous with the occupation of Central and Northern Gaul by the Franks. The latter, who were inveterate enemies of the Saxons, seem to have pushed them to a large extent from their homes along the channel, as I have already mentioned. One section of them, under odoaker, we find at Angers. We have a very interesting trace of another section in the life of Saint Marculf. Saint Marculf was born in 483 at Bayeux, and was doubtless himself a Saxon. In 511 he left Bayeux as a missionary, and was ordained a priest in 513 at Coutances. He then retired for a while to a secluded spot, where he founded a monastery. The site was afterwards well known under the name of Nanteuil. There his fame collected many religious about him, among others, Saint Helier, the proto-martyr of Jersey, an island then called Angia or Augia. Saint Helier, with his companion Domard, set sail after a while for Jersey; and some years afterwards Saint Marculf paid them a visit there. ("Le Contentin et ses Iles," by Dupont, 25-34.) It was while Saint Marculf was there that, according to the narrative of his life, 3,000 Saxons (no doubt a gross exaggeration in numbers) came in ships driven both by oars and sails to the island, and began to devastate it. The islanders who did not

number more than 30 were panic-stricken, and repaired in their distress to Saint Marculf. He bade them trust in God and go out against the enemy, for God who had overwhelmed Pharaoh would assist them. They accordingly attacked the invaders, who, we are told, perished partly by the sword and partly by the tempest, so that none of them reached their country again. The lord of the island hearing of what had happened, made a grant of half of it to the missionary. ("Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti," 1, 132.) The Saxons, were however, by no means all destroyed, for Saint Marculf having returned once more to Nanteuil to get materials for a monastery he meant to build in Jersey, the Saxons attacked Saint Helier while hiding among the rocks, and decapitated him. (Dupont, *op. cit.*, 45.) We thus find the Saxons in the earlier half of the sixth century, making a descent upon the Channel Islands, where, judging from the topography, they must have settled in large numbers.

I have small doubt myself that under the same pressure of the Franks, to which I have already referred, a large body of the inhabitants of the Littus Saxonum in Gaul migrated also across the channel and became founders of the West Saxon kingdom, and were the Gewissi of the Welsh authors. And this is in curious agreement with certain facts otherwise puzzling. Mr. Isaac Taylor has remarked of the country about Caen, "that it is divided by thick hedgerows into small irregular crofts, and the cottages are unmistakably English rather than French in structure."

And no one can travel even cursorily through Lower Normandy, with its apple orchards, its cider, and its red cattle, without being reminded of Devonshire and Somerset. If the argument be of value urged by Mr. Kemble, that the simple patronymics ending in ing, represent the parent settlements, and those with the additional syllables of ham, ton, &c., the offshoots, then it is a strange confirmation of our contention that in the counties of England, comprised in the old Littus Saxonum, the proportion of the former should be so great, while in the Western counties, comprised in Wessex, there should hardly be any of them. (See Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," 138.) This testimony is not of less value, in that it is quoted there in support of an entirely different position.

I have now completed my survey of the migration and settlement of the Saxons along the borders of the Channel. In the next paper I hope to deal with the Saxons east of the Rhine. The conclusions I have arrived at are at issue with those of the school of history now dominant, and are of far wider importance than as mere ethnological facts. If the Saxons in Britain settled there for the most part as colonists and not as conquerors,

we must revise very largely the notions of our early history now current. I hope to prosecute the fertile inquiry further when we come to treat of the Jutes.

NOVEMBER 13TH, 1877.

JOHN EVANS, Esq., DCL, F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of Rev. J. A. Bennet, of Cadbury, Somerset, and F. V. Dickens, of Yokohama, was announced.

The following list of presents was announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors.

FOR THE LIBRARY.

- From the Author.—*De la différence fonctionnelle des deux hémisphères cérébraux; Sur la tripanation du Crane.* By Dr. Paul Broca.
- From Professor F. V. Hayden.—*Ethnology and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians.* By W. Mathews. *Bulletin of the United States' Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories,* Vol. III, Nos. 1-3. *Miscellaneous Publications,* Vol. III, No. 6. *Bulletin of the United States Entomological Commission,* Nos. 1 and 2.
- From the EDITORS.—*Ueber den queren Hinterhauptswulst am Schädel verschiedener aussereuropäischer Völker.* By Prof. A. Ecker. *Zur Kenntniss des Körperbaues früherer Einwohner der Halbinsel Florida.* By Prof. A. Ecker.
- From the Anthropological Society of Berlin.—*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.* Nos. 2 and 3, 1877.
- From the AUTHOR.—*Scoperte Antropologiche in Ossero.* By Captain R. F. Burton.
- From the AUTHOR.—*La Grotta colappresso petrella di Cappadocia nella provincia dell' Abruzzo Ellerioie.* By Dr. G. Nicolucci.
- From C. ROBERTS and G. L. STEEL, Esqs.—*St. George's Hospital Report,* Vol. VIII, 1874-6.
- From the SOCIETY.—*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* Vol. XLVI, 1876. *Proceedings, ditto,* Vol. XXI, Nos. 4-6.
- From the INSTITUTION.—*The Canadian Journal,* Vol. XXV, Nos. 6 and 7.
- From the ASSOCIATION.—*Transactions of the American Medical Association,* Vol. XXVII, 1876. *Supplement to ditto,* 1876.

- From the CLUB.—Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, 1876.
- From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Royal Society, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 181-3.
- From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XLV, Part I, No. 3; Part II, No. 4. Vol. XLVI, Part I, No. 1; Part 2, No. 1. Proceedings ditto, Nos. 9 and 10, 1876, Nos 1-4, 1877.
- From the EDITOR.—*Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, June to August, 1877.
- From the SOCIETY.—Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. Vol. XII, No. 2.
- From the SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.—Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, Vol. IV, Part. I
- From the COMMISSION.—Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique 1872-4. Ditto, Atlas.
- From the INSTITUTE.—Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, Vol. VIII, 1876-7.
- From the AUTHOR.—Imperial Federation. By Frederick Young.
- From the ACADEMY.—*Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*. Vol. I, No. 7.
- From the ACADEMY.—Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersburg. Vol. XXIII, No. 4; Vol. XXIV, No. 1.
- From the SOCIETY.—Bulletin de la Société Impériale de Naturalistes de Moscow. No 1, 1877.
- From the ASSOCIATION.—Journal of the East India Association. Vol. X, No. 4.
- From the INSTITUTION.—Journal of the Royal United Service Institution. Vol. XXI, Nos. 91-2, Appendix to Vol. XX.
- From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XXII, No. 34.
- From the INSTITUTE.—Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute. Vol. IX.
- From MRS. MORGAN.—Coptic Researches. By Dr. Carl Abel.
- From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. IX, Part II.
- From the SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. Vol. XVI, No. 99.
- From F. A. ALLEN, Esq.—The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills, 1864.
- From JAMES McCLELLAND, Esq.—Morton's "Crania Americana."
- From the ASSOCIATION.—Report of the British Association, 1876, Glasgow.
- From the ASSOCIATION.—Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association. Vol. IX, 1877.
- From the AUTHOR.—Lecture on the Antiquity of Man. By Prof. T. Rupert Jones, F.R.S.
- From the SOCIETY.—Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vol. VII, Nos. 4-6
- From the SOCIETY.—Jahrbuch der K. K. Geologischen Reichsan-

stalt. Vol. XXVII, No. 2. Verhandlungen, ditto, ditto,
Nos. 7-10.

From the AUTHOR.—Origin of the Chinese Race; Early Maritime
Intercourse of Ancient Western Nations; Japanese Wrecks,
&c., in the North Pacific Ocean. By C. W. Brooks.

From the EDITOR.—Nature, to date.

From the EDITOR.—Revue Scientifique. Nos. 1-19, 1877.

FOR THE MUSEUM.

From PROF. BOGDANOW.—40 casts of skulls made of *papier-mâché*.

Special thanks were voted to Professor Bogdanow for his collection of 40 *papier-mâché* casts of skulls, and to Mr. McLennar for his copy of Morton's "Crania Americana."

Mr. Hyde Clarke made the following observations on Prof. Bogdanow's gift.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE said this collection had been offered to the Institute by Prof. Bogdanow with equal delicacy and liberality, and on every ground deserved the special tribute the President had proposed. Prof. Bogdanow, who had achieved a well-merited reputation as a man of science, had particularly devoted himself to the formation in the University at Moscow of a Department of Anthropology, which under his auspices had made successful progress and acquired importance. Indeed, it had justified its founder in proposing for next year an Anthropological Exhibition at Moscow. It was in connection with the Anthropological Department, that the Professor had formed the collection of typical skulls of the neighbouring Asiatic tribes, and to render it more useful to the world of science, he had caused these carefully prepared models to be formed. Of the value of them the President had spoken, and it had been acknowledged by the most distinguished authorities in this country. Prof. Bogdanow considered it to be his duty to offer a series of models for the acceptance of the Institute; but in making this proposition, he had particularly desired him not to communicate it to the Institute until a decision had been obtained on the question of the co-operation of English Anthropologists at the Moscow Congress, lest Prof. Bogdanow should be refused as offering a bribe instead of a free gift. Mr. Clarke had consulted the President, who considered that with the pledges already given for the Exposition at Paris, our colleagues here could give no effective assistance. This was a matter of regret to Anthropologists, but some suitable opportunity may present itself of assisting our friends at Moscow; but at all times we should be ready to manifest our esteem for our fellow-worker, Professor Bogdanow.

Major General A. Lane Fox exhibited some flint flakes from Egypt, and the following note thereon by Captain R. Burton was read.

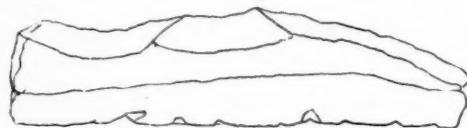
FLINT FLAKES FROM EGYPT.

The little collection of 50 flakes was made by Mr. W. P. Hayns, of the Numismatic Society (Messrs. Greenfield, Alexandria Harbour Contract), who kindly forwarded it to me for your Museum.

The site of the "find" is Helwán (les Bains), $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles by rail south of Cairo, on the right bank of the Nile Valley, which irrigation would render immensely productive, and some $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the river. The place is well known, having of late years become a kind of Sanitarium. Its only interest to archaeologists is the presence of what appears to be a flint manufactory. The "finds" have caused much sensation. The thorough-going Egyptologist, who holds that "art had no infancy in Egypt," has a personal aversion to the stone age; and he readily accepts the theory of Drs. Schweinfurth and Günfeldt, Herr G. Rohess, and Dr. Zittel ("Bull. de l'Inst. Egypt," No. XIII, pp. 56–64), namely, that sudden and eocene changes of temperature have produced by expansion and contraction what is attributed to the *atelier*. On the opposite side, Sir John Lubbock and other naturalists, finding preneolithic silex-types at Thebes (Valley of the Kings); at Jebel-Kilebizzeh, near Esneh; at Girgeh, Abydos, etc., consider the stone age proven in the hill-valley. They are supported by Dr. Gaillarsdot, of Cairo, who declares that worked silexes have been picked up at Assouan (Syene), at Manga, and in the crevices of Jebel Silsileh; this savant sees no reason why man should not have been coëval with the powerful quaternary vegetation bordering on the great river. The highly distinguished M. Auguste Mariette is exceedingly reserved upon the subject, and he is evidently right to speak only of what he has seen when actually working the grounds. M. Arcelin has published, in the "Correspondent" of 1873, "La Question Préhistorique," and has replied to objectors in "l'Age de la Pierre et la Classification Préhistorique, d'après les sources Egyptiennes."

Mr. Hayns further writes to me that the exact site of the "find" is the stony tract surrounding the sulphur and soda-springs of Helwán, extending two or three miles along the right side of the Nile. A friend of his when walking over the

grounds some three years ago, picked up a fine specimen of a saw, measuring two and a-half inches; and arrow heads are spoken of. Worked flakes and roughly-shaped spear-points have also been collected on the opposite river-bank. At Záwiyat, Ariyán (naked men's corner?), about five miles above the pyramids of Gi'zeh, lies the platform of a similar feature, now ruined; and here, near the place where the saw came to hand, Mr. Hayns lately discovered a flake which appears to be a scraper.



For remarks upon the collection of flint implements at Bulák see the "Notice des Principaux Monuments," &c. Le Cairo, Morirès, fifth ed., pp. 81-2.

I have great doubts concerning the little collection which is herewith forwarded. To me only one flake, round which I have tied a thread, appears as if worked. The others look like mere *éclats*, which may be due to the causes which have overspread the Libyan desert with millions of specimens, numbers which, as Drs. Schweinfurth and Günfeldt remark, completely forbid our attributing them to art. However, your practised eye may correct my hasty judgment, and I am anxious to learn the result of your examination.

TRIESTE, June 19, 1877.

RICHARD F. BURTON.

The following papers were then read by the Director in the absence of the Authors—

THE SPREAD OF THE SLAVES. Part I.

THE CROATS.

By H. H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.

BY your favour I have recently commenced a series of papers on the ethnography of Germany; I find it difficult to proceed in this work without at the same time considering the migrations and changes which the Slavic races have been subject to. Germans and Slaves being close neighbours, with frontiers frequently shifting and overlapping, it is almost impossible to understand the revolutions which have overtaken the one race, nor to map out its details correctly, without at the same time

surveying its neighbours. I therefore propose to write a number of papers concurrently with the series on the Germanic races, in which I shall treat of the ethnography of the Slaves: and I find it convenient to begin with the Croats.

The synonymy of the Croats has been collected with great patience by Schafarik, and from his classic work I take the following list of synonyms. By the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they were called Chrobatoi; by Cedrenos Khorbatoi; by Zonaras, Krabatoi; by Nicephorus Bryennios, Khorobatoi by Khoniates, Khrabatia; by Khalkokondylas Krokatioi. The Arab Masudi calls them Khorwatin. A gau in Karinthea is called Crawati in an early document. In deeds of 954 and 978 they are called Khrowat; by Dithmar Khrinati; by the "Annalista Saxo," Krowate; in the Saxon Chronicle Kruwati; a village Crubate is mentioned in 1055; another Gravat in 1086; the land of Kurbatia by Lupus Protospathes; Chrowati by Cosmas of Prague; Cruacia by Martin Gallus Croatii by Kadlulek. Alfred the Great calls them Horithi; Croatæ and Croatia occur in native documents of 892, 925, 1076, and 1078; Chrobatae in a deed of 1059, etc. In the Cyrillic legend of Saint Wenzel, dating probably from the tenth century, the name is written Khrbate, Khorbate, Khrabate; Khrobate by Nestor in the copy written in 1377; Khrbate in the oldest Servian MSS.; Khrbaten in an old Bulgarian MS.; Harwati, in the Dalmatian Chronicle of Diokleas, Kharwati in Dalimil, etc.

The Croats pronounce their own names Hr'wati, Horwati, The Serbs and Illyrians call them Hr'wat, plural Hr'wati. In both cases, as in the words hrabren, hrast, hren, hvala, hud, etc., h stands for the old ch. The Hungarians call them Horvátok, the Germans, Kroats, and Krobats.

The original form of all these names is Khr'watin in the singular, and Khr'wati in the plural, and according to all authorities known to me, including Schafarik, is derived from the Carpathians, which in old Slavic were named Krib, or Khrebet. This word means a mountain or hill, and occurs in composition in many Slavic localities, as Slovenski hribi in Steiermark; also several places in Russia, as Khriby, a village on the Kolpinka, and the Khribian woods and marshes in the same district; Khrebine, a village west of Vladimir, etc. From Khrib we get Khrebet, the term applied generally to large mountain ranges by the Russians, as Yablonoi Khrebet, Uralskoi, Khrebet, Kamskatskoi Khrebet' etc. (*Id.*, i, 488.) Croat therefore means merely an inhabitant of the Carpathians. According to Schafarik, the whole of the northern slopes of these mountains, stretching from the Sutschawa to the sources

of the Vistula, was known from the fifth to the tenth century as Khrby, and sometimes, by the permutation of consonants, Khrwy, or Khrwaty (*id.*), and this is the region, according to the best authorities, whence the Croats originally came.

The author to whom we are indebted for the first notice of the migration of the Croats, is the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus whose notice has been sifted with great critical acumen and skill by Schafarik, the author of the "Slavonic Antiquities." Constantine tells us how in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, the Avaras having driven the Romans out of Dalmatia, and that province having been converted into a desert, the Chrobati, by the Emperor's invitation, entered that country, drove the Avaras out, and settled there. Schafarik dates the invasion of the Avaras about the year 630, and their expulsion about 634. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 241.) "Previously the Chrobati lived," says the Emperor, "beyond Bagibaria, where still live the Belo Khrobati" (*i.e.*, the White Khrobati), which doubtless means the Free Khrobati, as distinguished from the Black or subject Khrobati. In another place he tells us that in his day these White Khrobati still lived in their own land, near the Franks, and subject to Otho the Great. In a third place, where he describes the old country of the Servians, he tells us it was situated beyond the land of the Turks (*i.e.*, the Magyars), and was called Boiki, and was near Francia and Great or White Khrobattia. (Stritter, ii, 157 and 390.) As Schafarik says, there is much ambiguity in these apparently distinct statements. Boiki has been often supposed to represent Bohemia; but the land whence the Servians came was called Boiki by themselves; while as is well known, Bohémia has always among the Slaves been called Cheky. Again, Constantine does not write the name Boiké, as he would have done if he wished to connect it with the Boii, but Boiki (indeclinable, as was the custom of the Greeks in writing barbarous names). Schafarik concludes, as I think most justly, that by Boiki there is no reference to Bohemia, but a reference to the Russian tribe of the Boyki (Russin. Boyki, singular Boyok), who still live in Eastern Gallicia from the Dniester to the Pruth, in the district of Sambor and Stryi, in the lower part of Stanislawof, and Kolomyi, and also scattered in the district of Chorkof and very probably still further north. Constantine's putting Borki in the neighbourhood of the land of the Franks, was perhaps due to some confusion in his own mind between Boiki and Bohemia.

Constantine in another place describes White Croatia as situated beyond the Turks, which with him means the Hungarians.

Again, as to Bagibaria, some would make it equivalent with dwellers on the Wag or the Bug; others a corruption of Babi-egorbo, an old name for the Carpathians; (Stritter, ii, 389, note.) Others again connect it with Bavaria; Bavaria then stretched as far as the Danube, and Galicia might well be described as being beyond Bavaria and the land of the Turks (*i.e.*, of the Magyars). (*Id.* ii, 243.)

On turning to other authorities, we find this conclusion amply supported. Nestor, the first Russian chronicler, in speaking of the times before the arrival of the Varagians, names the Khorwati in close proximity with the Dulyebii, who lived on the Bug, and the Tiwertzi who lived on the Dniester. And he distinctly calls them Khrobate biele, or White Croats. In describing the campaign of Oleg against the Greeks, in 906, he mentions how he was assisted by contingents of men from the Varagians, the Slovenians, the people of Novgorod, the Chudes, the Kriwichi, the Mera, the Polani of Kief, the Derewani, the Radimiches, the Severani, the Wiatiches, the *Khorwati*, the Dulyibii, and the Tiwertzi. "These Khorwati," as Schafarik says, "no doubt were the White Khorwati, who lived beyond the Carpathians. In 981 Vladimir declared war against Mechislaf of Poland, apparently to reconquer certain places in Galicia which had been won by Oleg, but had been re-occupied by the Poles. He took the towns of Cherwen (now called Czermo), on the river Guczwa, Peremysl, etc. Oppressed on all sides, the Croats tried to regain their independence." (Schafarik, ii, 105.)

In 993 we find Vladimir undertaking a fresh war against them, whose issue is not stated.

Besides these proofs, we have as remains of the former occupation of this district by Croats, the names of certain places, as the villages of Horb, Horbok, Horbof, Horbowiza, Horbatche, Zahorb, Hrbitschi, Hribowa, Hrichowze, and more doubtfully, Khrewt, in the circle of Sanock; Kharwin, and four villages called Kharsevitze in Eastern and Western Galicia, etc. (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 106.)

Zeuss argues very forcibly that the name patria Albis given by the Geographer of Ravenna to the flat country north of the Carpathians, is not to be explained as the country of the Elbe, but as the white land, and as equivalent to the White Servia and White Croatia of the Byzantines. ("Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme," 610.) He also mentions that north of the mountains, although west of the ancient White Croatia, we meet in mediæval times with traces of the Croats; thus we find Cosmas of Prague, under date 1086, in mentioning the border districts of the diocese of Prague north-west of Bohemia, near the gau of Troppau, speaking as follows, "Ad aquilonam-

lem hii suut termini: Psouane, Ghrouat, et altera Chrouti, Zlasane, Trebouane, Boborane, etc." (*Id.*, 610.) These Croats are probably referred to in the legend of St. Wenceslaus, where we find that Drahomira fled to Croatia. This was in 936, (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 444.) They would also seem to be the Horithi of Alfred. (*Id.*) It is possible that these Croats were not a section of the White Croats, but received their name merely from living in the chribty or mountains. There can be small hesitation however in accepting the neighbourhood of Gallicia north of the Carpathians as the cradle land of the Croats.

Invited by the Emperor Heraclius, as I have mentioned, the Croats set out under the leadership of five brothers, named Klukas, Lobel (Lobelos), Kosenetz (Kosentsiz), Muchlo, and Khrwat (Khorvalos), and two of their sisters, named Tuga and Buga. Some suspicion has been cast on these names. Khvat seems to be the eponymos of the race; two others of them mean tarrying; while the two girls' names are equivalent to joy and sorrow. (Evans, "Bosnia," etc., xx.) But the names do not seem to me to be other than perfectly natural ones. They entered Dalmatia, and having fought for some time against the Avars, who inhabited that district (*i.e.*, from about 634 to 638), they killed some and some they subdued, and from this time the Croats occupied that country. The Avars were not entirely dispersed, and the emperor tells us that when he wrote, three centuries later, remains of them were still to be found there who retained their name of Avars. (Constan. de adm. Imp., 30; Stritter ii, 389.) Schafarik suggests that the Morlaks, who have been by several writers made out to be of Tartar or Kirghiz origin, are really descended from these Avars. He also suggests that it was from this fact that Avar, title of Ban, was first adopted among the Croats, and afterwards by other Slavic races. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 278, and note 2.)

In regard to these Morlaks, Sir Gardner Wilkinson collected some curious information. He says the first notice of them is about the middle of the fourteenth century, when they would seem to have been the occupants of the mountainous district of north-western Bosnia. After that period they migrated with their families and flocks from Bosnia as the Turks advanced there; and immediately before their settlement in Dalmatia, their principal abodes were in the districts of Corbavia and Lika, to the north and north-east of the River Zermagna. "Though of the same Slavonic family as the Croatians," he says "and others of that race, some have supposed a difference in their appearance, and a superior physical conformation." This he

assigns to their hardy life and pure climate. Farlati supposes the name to be compounded of Greek and Slavonic, and that it was originally Makro vlahi, and that they received the latter name from their dark or black colour. Some have indeed called them Black Latins. ("Historicus Dalmata," vi, 5.) This etymology is much more reasonable than that adopted by Wilkinson from mor the sea; and vlah, a term given in Slavonic to all those who do not speak German, and even to the Latins, and which is the root of Valachi Wallachians. (Wilkinson, "Dalmatia and Montenegro," ii, 296.) An inland race of mountaineers would scarcely receive a name derived from the sea; and the former derivation is very consistent with the theory, quoted from Schafarik, which makes the Morlaki descendants of the Avars. It would be curious to examine their dialect from this point of view, and now that so good and enthusiastic a student of Slavonian as Mr. Evans lives at Ragusa, we may perhaps hope that an inquiry in this direction may be made. As to the title of Ban, Schafarik says, that Bayan was a title in use among the Avars, and was used of a subordinate dignity to that of Khakan or Khan, and it is almost certain that the Slaves derived it from the Avars. (*Id.*, ii, 278, note.) He adds elsewhere that it is probably derived eventually from the Persian Bayan. (*Id.*, ii, 257, note 3.) Wilkinson says the principal nobles of Hungary Bohemia in the middle ages were called Pan; the same title was given in Poland to the first dignities of the State, and it now means Lord, Mr. or Sir. (*Op. cit.*, i, 25.) The Austrian Governor of Croatia is still known as the Ban.

So far as we know, the Croatians were the first Slaves who permanently settled in Dalmatia, in Pannonia beyond the Save, and in Präwallis. There had been several previous raids of Slavic invaders into these districts in 548, 550, 551, and 552, but these were only temporary invasions, and the Croats were the first to actually settle there. (Schafarik, ii, 237.) Although Constantine does not tell us that they settled down as dependants of the empire, it seems almost certain from their subsequent history that they did so. (*Id.*, 278, note.) A portion of the Croats who entered Dalmatia detached itself from the main body, and occupied Illyria and Pannonia. (Const. Porphyry, *op. cit.*; Stritter, ii, 391.) This detached body seems to have settled, in fact, in that part of Pannonia situated between the Danube and the Save, and known as Pannonia Savia, with its chief town at Sisek, and partly also in Illyria, where there was subsequently a Croat gau. (*Id.*, 279.)

There were thus constituted two Croat States, one in Dalmatia, with its chief towns of Bélgrade (Zara Vecchia), on the Adriatic,

and Bihatsch on the Una ; and a second whose capital was Sisek at the junction of the Kupa (Kulpa) and the Save. According to Constantine, the boundaries of the land possessed by the Croats of Dalmatia were, on the south, the river Zetina and the towns of Imoski and Liwno. On the east, the Urbas, with the towns of Yazye and Baynaluka. On the north the Drave, the Kulpa, the town of Albunon, and the Arsia in Istria ; and on the west the Adriatic. (Stritter, ii, 395, note; Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 279.) They also doubtless occupied several of the Dalmatian islands and the Istrian peninsula, whose inhabitants speak the Croatian dialect. (Schafarik, *id.*) In Croatia, Constantine says there were eleven Zupas, *i.e.*, gaus : Chlewiana, *i.e.*, Chlewno (the modern Liwno, in Herzegovina); Tsentsina (Zetina); Imota (Imolski near the Zetina); Plewa (the modern Pliwa); Pesenta (the mountain of Wesenta, south of the Yayze); Paratalassia (Primorye, a district between the Zetina and the Krka) Brebera (Bribri, between the Krka and Lake Karin); Nona (Nin, on an island in the strait of Puntadur); Tnina (Knin, on the river Krka); Sidraga (the district of Belgrade or Zara Vecchia); Nina (the district on both sides of the Dzrmania, including the town of Byelina); Kribasa (the later county of Krbarva); Litsa (the military district of Lika); Gutsika (the open country of Gazko.) (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 295–6.) The three last gaus were subject to the Ban, an officer of whom I shall have more to say presently.

From the names of these gaus and the towns which they enclosed, it would seem, says Schafarik, that the division of Dalmatian Croatia did not reach northwards to the Sen and the Otoschatz; and this northern frontier strip from the Arsia and from the mountain Albunon (Yawonirk ?) to the Kulpa, belonged to the other section of Croatia, whose princes had authority as far as the Danube and Syrmia. Croatia therefore was bounded on the north by the Wends, who as early as 631 had gained possession of Friauli on the north-east (Schafarik, by a *lapsus penicilli* says north-west) by the Pannonian Avares, and on the east and south by the Serbs; from whom the latter were separated by the rivers Urbas and Zetina ; and it included the modern districts of Turkish Croatia, Dalmatia and some of its islands, a part of the military frontier, and of Austrian Croatia, Istria and Carinthia.

Schafarik remarks that it is well to remember that there were certain towns on the coast which having been for a long time subject to the Greek Empire, secured for a while their independence, but ended by becoming tributary to the Croats. These were Rausium or Ragusa, called Dubrownik by the Slaves; Trangurium, *i.e.*, Trogir or Trau; Diadora, *i.e.*,

Zader or Yadera ; and the islands of Arbe, *i.e.*, Rab ; Wekla, *i.e.*, Kark or Kerk ; and Opsara, *i.e.*, Osero or Absorus. To these towns and islands and the neighbouring district, the name Dalmatia now became more and more restricted, in order to distinguish them from the neighbouring Croatian districts proper ; and their inhabitants, as Constantine tells us, retained the name of Romani or Romans. (Schafarik, ii, 280.) Their descendants are still well known as the so-called Italians of the Dalmatian coast.

Having considered their country, let us now turn to the history of the invaders. When he had persuaded them to settle down on his frontiers, the next thing which the Emperor Heraclius was solicitous about was the conversion of the Croats to Christianity. He accordingly applied to the Pope, who sent a number of priests to baptise them. Their prince at this time was named Porga, the son of one of the five brothers already named. Porga is a curious and uncommon name, apparently not Slavic ; and Schafarik compares it with Purgas, the name of a Mordwin chief mentioned in the year 1229 (*op. cit.*, ii, 280, note), a fact which makes it probable that the Croats were at this time subject to alien princes, perhaps of Avar descent.

The conversion of the Croats by missionaries of the Latin Church, and not by those of the Eastern Church, became a very important fact in later days, and a fact which still forms a notable element in that congeries of political difficulties, the Eastern Question. The Pope who was reigning at the time was John the Fourth who entered into close relations with the new converts, put them under the protection of the Holy See, and made them promise, probably, at the instance of the Byzantine Court, to abstain from making any attacks on other countries. This promise they further ratified in writing, and it was honestly carried out. Being restricted from making aggressive wars, they partly occupied themselves in agriculture, and partly in trade, their ships frequenting the various towns on the Adriatic. (Schafarik, ii, 281.) They accordingly became rich, and their country populous. Constantine tells us they had a force of 60,000 cavalry, and 100,000 infantry ; 80 ships, each manned by 40 hands, and 100 others, with lesser crews of 20 and 10 men. (Stritter ii, 396). He tells us also there was an archbishop and a bishop among them, with priests and deacons. Through their influence and that of several other ecclesiastics, notably John of Ravenna, Archbishop of Spalato, they were not only grounded in the faith, but were also closely attached to the Empire. According to Thomas, Archdeacon of Spalato, the first bishoprics created in Croatia were those of Dubno (Deluminium) and Sisek (Siscia). (Schafarik, 281, note.) We thus find the Croats attached

politically to Byzantium, while their religious ties were with Rome. Unlike their Slavic neighbours, they were never subject to the kings of Bulgaria, with whom, however, they lived on amicable terms. We have hardly a notice of the Croats during the next one hundred and fifty years; in fact, the only reference to them during this interval, given by Schafarik, relates to an invasion of Apulia by a host of Slaves who came from the Adriatic. "De Venetiarum finibus," are the chronicler's words; as they are said by the annalists to have gone with a multitude of ships, it is probable they were Croats. (Schafarik, 282, note 1.) We do not meet with any further references to their country till we come to the days of the Frank conqueror "Karl the Great." Having conquered the Lombard kingdom in 774, and ravaged Friuli in 776; he then in his struggle with the Bavarian prince Tassilo and his Avar allies, overran the Wendish districts on the Enns in the Tyrol, Karinthia, and Istria. This extension of the Frank arms led inevitably to their speedily overshadowing the Croats. The rivalry between the Byzantine and Romish churches had begun its work, and was at this period intensified by the ill-feeling between the Greek Emperor and his grantees. On the bloody defeat of the Byzantines in Italy in 788, the Franks overran Istria, Liburnia, and Pannonia on the Save. They annexed these districts as far as the Danube, and appointed Marquises or Margraves and Counts there, on whom the native Slavic chiefs became dependent. This was in 789. Thus the Grand Prince (Veliki Zupan), who had his seat at Sisek, became a Frank subject. The Franks gave him the title of rector, and made him immediately dependent on the Marquises of Friuli. It was probably from this event that the district of Syrmia was called Frankokhorion, while the town now called Mandyelos, the Budalia of the Romans, received the name of Frankavilla. (*Id.*, 283.) Hitherto the Dalmatian towns had not been interfered with; according to Eginhardt, this was because of the friendship of his master for the Byzantine Emperor (Egin. "Vitæ Car.:" Pertz. i, 451); but in the year 806, Paulus, Duke of Zara, and Donatus, bishop of the same town, went to him with rich presents, and also apparently with their submission. (Eginhardt; Pertz, i, 133.) This change of masters led to considerable ill-feeling between Karl and the Emperor Nicephorus. This was terminated by a treaty in 810, by which the latter transferred his now merely nominal sovereignty over the Dalmatian Croats to the Frank Emperor, while he retained control over the towns of Zader, Trogir, Spalato, Ragusa, and the islands of Osero, Rab, and Kerk, *i.e.*, of the district now called Dalmatia. (Schafarik, 282–3).

Thus the Croats became to a large extent subjects of the

Frank Empire. On the death of the Great Karl, the Franks began a somewhat persecuting policy towards them. In 817 a dispute arose between Kadolach, Duke of Friauli, and the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Armenian, as to the boundaries of Dalmatia. The Greeks presented their complaints on this matter to the diet held in 817 at Aachen, and the Emperor sent Albgar the son of Miroch, to settle matters on the spot. (Eginhardt, "Annales" sub ann. 817.)

Kadolach appears to have treated the Croats on the Save very arbitrarily, and Liudewit their prince sent an embassy with complaints to the diet at Vannes. (Eginhardt, "Annales," 818.) No notice having apparently been taken of his complaints, he rebelled, and an army was sent against him, which seems to have been partially successful, and Liudewit sued for peace. As his terms were not reciprocated by the Emperor, he persuaded the neighbouring Wends and also the Timociani, who had recently fallen away from their allegiance to the Bulgarians and submitted to the Emperor, to rebel. Meanwhile, Kadolach, the Marquis of Friauli, caught the fever and died, and was succeeded by Baldric, who marched into Carinthia, where he encountered the army of Liudewit, and having defeated it on the Drave, drove him out of that province.

He was attacked on another side by Borna, the chief of the Dalmatian Croats, who was apparently in alliance with the Franks. The struggle took place on the River Culpa, but Borna was deserted by the Guduscani, and was defeated. In this battle Dragomus, the father-in-law of Liudewit, who had been treacherous to his son-in-law, and had deserted him, perished.

Borna, on his retreat homewards, succeeded in reducing the Guduscani once more to obedience. In the winter Liudewit invaded his borders, and ravaged them with fire and sword. Borna, however, revenged himself, killed 3,000 of the enemy, captured 300 of their horses, and recovered much booty. (Eginhardt, "Annales," 819; Pertz, i, 205–6.) Thus did the Croats imitate a very common policy among the Slaves, and tear each other's throats, while the Empire stood by approvingly.

In January, 820, it was determined at an Imperial diet, to send three armies simultaneously into the country of Liudewit. Borna assisted at this diet with his advice. One of these armies marched through the Norican Alps; a second by way of Carinthia; while the third went through Bavaria and Upper Pannonia. The first and last were obliged to return again, but the one which marched through Carinthia defeated the enemy three times, and crossed the Drave; but Liudewit defended himself bravely, shut himself up in his capital; and the Franks

contented themselves with devastating the country round, and then retiring. They had however struck terror into some of the rebels, for we read that the people of Carniola who lived about the Save, and close to Friauli, submitted to Baldric; and the Carinthians, who had sided with Liudewit, also submitted. (Eginhardt, "Annales," ad ann. 820.)

Meanwhile Borna the chief of the Dalmatian Croats, died. He is called dux Dalmatae et Liburniae by Eginhardt. He was succeeded by his nephew Ladislavl. The Franks once more entered the country of Liudewit and ravaged it in 821. In 822, they sent another army, on the approach of which he was constrained to fly from his capital Sisek, and to escape to the Servians (Schafarik says probably to Bosnia); Eginhardt tells us he there murdered one of the princes of the country, and appropriated his territory. He then sent envoys to the Franks. (Eginhardt, "Annales," 822; Pertz i, 209.) He had however again to fly, and now escaped to Dalmatia, where having lived for some time with Liudimysl, the uncle of Borna, he was at length put to death by him. This was in 823.

This ended the independence of the Croats on the Save, who were now united with the Dalmatian Croats.

This internecine war among the Croats was due no doubt partly, as Schafarik says, to the jealousy created by a section of them being subject to the Franks, and another section independent; but I believe another reason not referred to by that historian was, that the Croats of the north were still very largely pagans, while their southern brothers were Christians. The Frankish raids to which it gave rise were accompanied with terrible barbarity, and the Emperor Constantine tells us how even children at their mothers' breasts were killed and thrown to the dogs. They kept up the struggle however with the persistence of their race, killed their prince Liudimysl the Frankish *protégé*, and also, according to Constantine, the Frank commander Kozilimis. This war took place during the years 825–30, and during the reign of Prince Porin. Being once more free the Croats turned to the Pope, asking him to send people to baptise them, and also asking for bishops. (Constantine Porphy.; Stritter, ii, 392.) Porin ruled over the whole of the Croats on the Adriatic, whose borders extended probably as far as the modern Slavonia; under him was a Ban who had authority over three gaus. Slavonia itself, *i.e.*, the country between the Drave and the Save, or at all events its eastern portion, was at this time subject to the Bulgarians, who had pushed their authority beyond the Drave. (Schafarik, ii, 286.)

The various towns of Dalmatia which had been subject to the Greeks, fell away during the reign of Michael the Second

(820–29), and Zader set up an independent dux or doge of its own. (*id.*, 286; Stritter, ii, 88.) On Porin's death, he was succeeded for a short space by Moislaf, who in 836 renewed the peace with Peter Tradonico the Doge of Venice. His successor Trpimir in 837 ratified the gift of certain revenues which had been made by his predecessor Moislaf to the church of Split or Spalato, and the deed by which he did it is the oldest one extant relating to the Croatian princes. In his days there came from the neighbouring Frank districts (*i.e.*, from Istria and Carniola) a pilgrim named Martin, dressed in secular garb. He did many wonders, and although a pious person, he was infirm and lame in his feet, and was carried about by men. He devoted himself to the conversion of the people, and was so successful, that they desisted from acts of piracy on their neighbours, and ceased attacking them except in self-defence, and we are told the Croats became attached to seafaring, and frequented the coast as far as Venice. (Constantine Porphyr.; Stritter, ii, 394–5.) Unlike the neighbouring Slaves, the Croats were never subject to the Bulgarians, nor did they even pay them tribute. They only had one struggle with them, in the days of Michael Boroses of Bulgaria, who failing to beat them, made peace with them, and gifts were interchanged. (*Id.*, 395.)

Between, 868 and 878, we find that Sedeslaf or Sdeslaf, a relative of Trpimir's, and a *protégé* of the Byzantine Emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was Prince of Croatia. He was probably a usurper, for Trpimir left sons behind him. During his reign, the Croats again became dependent on Byzantium, and transferred their ecclesiastical sympathies from the Pope of Rome to the Patriarch of Constantinople. (*Id.*, 287.)

The chief reason for this, was the publication of the Slavic Liturgy in the Cyrillic character in Bulgaria, Pannonia and Moravia, which so pleased the neighbouring Croats and Serbs, that they sent to ask teachers from the Emperor Basil, and accepted baptism from them. It is probable that the Slavic Liturgy was at the same time promulgated in Croatia, as would appear from a papal brief issued when the Croats returned to their allegiance to him. (Schafarik, ii, 287.)

At this time all the mainland of Dalmatia was occupied by Slaves, and the citizens of the town were chiefly Romans, who also inhabited the islands off the coast. As the latter, however, were terribly harassed by pirates, no doubt Saracens, and were in danger of extermination, they appealed to the Croats to allow them to move to the mainland; but they refused permission, unless they paid tribute; upon which they appealed to the Emperor Basil, who ordered that they should pay the same tax to the Croats

which they had paid to the imperial prefect; and from this date, Aspalathus, *i.e.*, Spalato paid 200 gold pieces; Trogir, 100 gold pieces; Diodora (*i.e.*, Zader), 110 gold pieces; Opsara (Osero), 100 gold pieces; Arbe (Rab), 100 gold pieces; Becla (Wkla), 100 gold pieces. This was in addition to a certain tax on wine and other products. (Const. Porp.; Stritter, ii, 398–9.) In return apparently for this favour, the Croats and Servians sent a contingent to help the Greeks at Bari, in the year 888, when they were attacked by the Saracens. (Schafarik, ii, 287.)

In May, 879, Sdeslaf was killed by Branimir, who broke off the connection with the East, and placed the Croats once more under the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, and sent Theodosios, the “Diaconos” of Nin, to Rome to be consecrated a bishop.

John, Archpriest of Solina; Vitalis, Bishop of Zader; Dominicus, Bishop of Osero, and others who were referred to, did not wish to receive their authority from Rome, and it may be mentioned as a proof of the strength of the Eastern party, that Maximus, the new Archbishop of Spalato, was consecrated by Walpert, the delegate of Photius, Patriarch of Aquileia. And it was a long time before the Greek cult was completely driven out of Croatia.

During Branimir's reign, the Croats were independent, both of the Byzantines and the Franks. In 882, Branimir was succeeded by Mutimir or Muntimir, the younger son of Trpimir, who had defeated his elder brother Kryesimir. In a deed of his, dated in 892, we first meet with certain high dignitaries, as the Maccecharius (? Magnus Cococus * or chief cook), Cavelarius, Camerarius, Pinzenarius, Armiger. (Schafarik, ii, 288–9.) Muntimir must not be confused with the prince of the same name who was ruling at this time in Servia.

Muntimir was apparently succeeded by his elder brother Kryesimir, whose authority he had usurped. The latter was reigning in 900, and continued to rule till 914 (*id.*, 289), when he was succeeded by his son Miroslaf, who was killed three years later by the Croatian Ban Pribina. (Stritter, ii, 396.) He was not allowed to keep his ill-gotten throne long, for in 920 we find a prince named Tomislaf, who is known from a letter to the Pope John the Tenth. During his reign, and in the year 925, a synod was held at Spalato, where the use of the Slavic Liturgy was forbidden. At another synod in 928, three new Croatian bishoprics were founded at Skradin, Sisek, and Duwno. In 924, the Serbian prince Zacharias, with a great number of his people, sought shelter in Croatia from the attacks of the Bulgarians. These emigrants did not return home till ten years later. It was this close alliance of the two peoples,

* Or perhaps Claviger, from mediæval Greek Matsouka and low Latin Maxuga, mazuca, a key.

which probably led to the invasion of Croatia in 927 by Alogoboturs, the general of the Bulgarian king Simeon; an expedition which had an unfortunate end, the invaders being badly beaten. In 940, Godimir, or Chedomir, became the ruler of Croatia, and he was succeeded in 958, by his grandson Kryesimir the Second, called the Great, who restored his country to its ancient prosperity, which had much decayed during the recent revolutions. He was succeeded by his younger son Drzislaf. He was the *protégé* of the Greek Emperors Basil and Constantine, and as a consequence of the doubtless renewed prosperity of the country, we find him forsaking the ancient title of Veliki Zupan or Great Zupan, and adopting that of king, which was borne by his successors. According to the frail testimony of Thomas of Spalato, says Schafarik, he joined Neretwa and Zachlumen to his kingdom. On the other hand, we find that the coast towns of Dalmatia, Zader, Trogir and Spalato, and the islands of Kerk, Rab, and Kortschula, which had been for one hundred and twenty years tributary to the Croatians, were now conquered by Peter Urselus the Second, Doge of Venice, who styled himself *Dux Dalmatiæ*. (*Id.*, 291.)

Wilkinson, in reporting the results of this war, says, "The Croatians were also expelled from the Isle of Pago, which was restored to Zara, and Surigna was sent by his brother Mucimir (? Drzislar of Schafarik) on a mission to the Doge at Trau, with instructions to make peace on any terms. A treaty was therefore concluded, by which the King of Croatia promised to abstain from all acts of aggression in Dalmatia, and sent his son Stephen to Venice as a hostage for his fidelity. He there received an education worthy of his rank, and afterwards married Nilcea, the daughter of the Doge. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 227.)

In the year 1000, Drzislaf was displaced by his elder brother Kryesimir the Third (the first as king). Catalinich says he was killed in an attempt to relieve the island of Pasmaus. (Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, ii, 226, Kryesimir.) He had been previously granted the title of Patrician by the Greek Emperor. He tried to drive the Venetians out of Dalmatia, but was defeated by them in 1013. Bulgaria and Servia had both submitted to the throne of Byzantium, and according to Zonaras and Cedrenus, their example was followed by that of the Croats. But Schafarik has shown that these writers have used the term Croat in a mistake for Serbian. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 291.) Kryesimir the Third was succeeded in 1035 by his son (? his nephew, Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, 227–8), Stephen the First, whose wealth is proved by the rich presents he made to the Church. By his second marriage with Wetenega, the widow of the Patrician Doym of Zader, he had two sons; one of whom who

succeeded him as Peter Kryesimir the Fourth (or second as king), was the most famous of all the Croatian rulers. Soon after his accession in 1050, he recovered the Dalmatian towns from the Venetians; the archbishop and city of Spalato, and the Bishop of Rab acknowledged him as their suzerain. He thereupon took the title of King of Dalmatia. In 1066 Zara was again wrested from him by the Doge Domenico Contarini. (*Id.*, ii, 229.) He introduced several ecclesiastical reforms. He planted new bishoprics at Belgrade on the coast, and at Knin; and his sister Cica founded the nunnery of Sta. Maria at Zara, of which she became the first abbess. The Bishop of Kief was nominated High Chancellor of the realm. His diocese reached as far as Drau. Under him a famous synod was held at Spalato, where the Slavic Liturgy was again prohibited Methodeus was proclaimed as a heretic, and the Cyrelilian writing was denounced as an invention of the Arian Goths. It was probably less from its Arian quality than from its having originated with the Greek Church that it was unpopular. Before his death, which happened in 1074, Stephen adopted his nephew Kryesimir as his successor; but this was not carried out, for the throne was seized by one named Slawisha, of whose history little is known. We read however that in November, 1075, he was captured and carried off as a prisoner to Apulia by the Norman chief Amikus. Wilkinson says the Normans were called in by the partisans of the dispossessed Stephen, who had retired to Spalato to the Benedictine convent of Saint Stephen. (*Op. cit.*, ii, 229.) The throne was then occupied by Demeter Zwonomir, who had been Ban of Croatia, and had married the daughter of St. Stephen of Hungary and sister of Vladislaf, but had been deposed by Slawisha. (Wilkinson, ii, 230; Schafarik, 292.) To strengthen his position, he, by the advice of the Archbishop Laurence of Solina, acknowledged the Pope as his suzerain, who thereupon sent him the emblems of the royal dignity, and he was duly crowned on the 9th of October, 1076, in the church of St. Peter at Old Solina. (*Id.*, 293.) But things were now going badly with the Croats. The Normans appeared in crowds on the coast, while the Venetians endeavoured to recover their lost authority on the Dalmatian shore. On Zwonomir's death in 1087, he was succeeded by Stephen the Second, the exiled nephew of Kryesimir the Fourth. He had taken refuge in a monastery, as I have said from which he now withdrew, and was duly crowned at Sebenico by the Archbishop on the 8th of September, 1089; but he died the following year, the last representation of the race of the Drzislafs. His death was followed by a terrible civil strife, in the midst of which one of the Zupans offered the crown to the brave Hungarian king

Vladislaif. Accepting the invitation, he marched with an army to Modrush, overran the country, and nominated his nephew Almus as its king. Later he founded the Bishopric of Agram (the Slavic Zagreb). On the death of Vladislaif, he was succeeded by Koloman, who seized upon Bielogorod (now called Zara Vecchia) (Wilkinson, 231, note), and apparently displaced Almus. The Zupan Peter thereupon rose in rebellion against him, and he in turn marched an army into Croatia. The Croats in the presence of this danger seem to have stopped their civil strife, and divided the land among twelve Zupans.

They collected their warriors, and awaited the attack of Koloman on the Drave. Not being certain of victory, the latter made proposals of peace, in which he engaged to protect their liberties. These overtures were successful, and peace was duly ratified, and the Croats acknowledged Koloman and the Hungarians as their masters; and he undertook to respect their rights, freedom, and laws. A Zupan (probably Peter is meant) who was discontented with this peace, was slain in a fight in the mountains of Gwozdansko; and Koloman was crowned at Bielograd by the Archbishop Crescentius, of Spalato, with his bride Bussita, a daughter of the Norman Count Roger. (Wilkinson, ii, 231.) This was in 1102. Thenceforward Croatia was governed by a deputy of the Hungarian king, who was styled the Ban of Croatia, and the Hungarian kings took the title of kings of Croatia and Dalmatia. Some of the Dalmatian islands were seized by the Venetians, who after many bloody struggles, planted their authority also in several of the towns on the coast. (*Id.*, 294.) The story, and a very interesting one it is, of the fierce strife between Hungary and Venice for these Dalmatian towns, has been told in detail by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in the work already quoted (*op. cit.*, chapter ix, *passim*), but it forms no part of our present subject.

Modern Austrian Croatia is divided into two well marked sections: Provincial Croatia, comprising the three districts of Agram (Zagreb), Warasdin, and Kreutz, with the maritime district adjoining; and secondly, Military Croatia, until recently divided into two generals' commands, and comprising eight regiments. Besides these, to which alone the name of Croatia is now generally applied, there were comprised in ancient Croatia the northern part of the modern Dalmatia as far as the Zetina, the north-western part of Bosnia as far as the Urbas, and the modern Slavonia. In early times it also included Istria, and although the latter was detached from Croatia about the end of the eighth century, it still retains a Croatian dialect. Over all this district the Croats were the dominant race, and it was all known in early times as Croatia, and included, as I have

said, three well marked divisions, namely Pannonian Croatia, or Croatia on the Save, Provincial Croatia, and Dalmatia.

The eastern portion of ancient Croatia is now called Slavonia; and it is interesting to trace the history of this name. From the earliest times to the days of Matthias Corvinus (*i.e.*, 1437–1492), the rulers of Croatia bore no other title than that of princes and kings of Croatia and Dalmatia. Foreigners, however, occasionally applied the generic name Slavi to them. Thus in a letter from the Emperor Louis the Second to the Emperor Basil, in 871, they are called Slavini, and their country Slavonia. In a brief of Pope John the Tenth, 914–29, to John the Fourteenth, Archbishop of Spalato, it is called Slavinorum terra, Slavinia terra, and in another brief of Innocent the Fourth, Slavonia terra. (Schafarik, *op. cit.*, ii, 307.)

During the reigns of Bela the Third, 1170–96, and Andrew the Second, 1205–35, the section of Croatia lying between the Drave and the Save was carved out into an appanage, and was called the Duchy of Slavonia (ducatus Slavoniae). King Vladislaf probably suspicious against John Corvinus, who ruled the Duchy of Croatia, took in 1492 the title of King of Slavonia. After the battle of Mohacz, a portion of Slavonia was occupied by the Turks, and we then find the name Croatia limited to that portion of it comprising the districts of Agram, Warasdin, and Kreutz, which still remained subject to the Hungarians; while the other portion, which was occupied by the Turks, and was only recovered at a later day, namely, the districts of Veröcze, Posega, and Syrmia, received the name of Slavonia, which it still retains. (*Id.*)

All the Croats, except a section who occupy the north-western mountain district of Bosnia called Kraina, and often called Turkish Croatia, as far as the river Urbas, are now subject to Austria. Kraina was a part of the ancient Croatia, and was probably detached from it at the end of the fourteenth century, when Tuarko founded the kingdom of Bosnia, and appropriated considerable districts from his neighbours; and it fell apparently with the rest of Bosnia into Turkish hands.

The Croats were originally no doubt a homogeneous race, and hardly distinguishable from the Servians, of whom, in fact, they formed a section.

At present there are, however, two well-marked Croatian dialects; one prevails in Provincial Croatia and in the country of the St. George and the Kreutz or Cross Regiments, while the other prevails in the other districts of Croatia in the Litorale and in Slavonia. The latter apparently hardly differs from the dialect of the districts occupied by the Servians proper. The

former perhaps originated in a mixture of the invaders with the Slovenians of Carinthia, etc., otherwise known as Wends. (*Id.*, 308-309.)

As I have said, the Croats and the Servians were originally one race, speaking one language, and having one history. The great distinguishing feature which has made their history run in separate grooves, has been the fact of the former being Roman Catholics and the latter attached to the Greek Church. This has given an entirely different direction to the sympathies of the most patent social force in the country, namely, that of the priesthood. The Croats also being further removed from such dangerous neighbours, were not so sophisticated by Bulgarian or Turkish domination, and retained their practical independence, although subject to the Hungarian Crown.

But we must never forget that in origin and in race they belong to the great Servian stock, which will, we trust, occupy us in our next paper.

More CASTELLIERI. By RICHARD F. BURTON and MESSIEURS ANTONIO SCAMPICCHIO (LL.D.), of ALBONA, and ANTONIO COVAZ, of PISINO (Deputy to the Diet, etc.).

SECTION I.—THE SEABOARD OF ISTRIA.

I HAVE obtained the consent of Dr. Antonio Scampicchio, and associated his name with my own, in these pages, of which many are translated from his letters and notes. He has also at my especial request, been good enough to write out for me the rustic Slav songs common about Albona, of which short specimens conclude the next section, and to translate into Italian my first paper, "Notes on the Castellieri." I have also ventured to add to these pages the name of Sig. Antonio Covaz of Pisino, Deputy to the Istria Diet; most of the excursions in the southern peninsula were undertaken by his advice, and many of the most important details come from his practised pen.

The little Istrian peninsula, which still preserves its classical name Istria or Danube-land, and is shaped on the map like a greatly reduced Africa, as the poet says, is geographically distinct from the rest of the Austrian world.

To north, west, south and south-east, this Xth. Regio of old Rome is bounded by the Gulf of Trieste, by the Adriatic, and by the Quarner or Quarnero. Sinus Flanaticus (not Fanaticus) of which the Florentine Francesco Berlingeri says:—

"E Flanatico Capo e punta escorta.
Per le molte tempeste ora e Carnaro
Da naufraga detta gente morta."

The eastern frontier, which connects the isosceles triangle with south-eastern Europe, and separates it from the adjoining province Unter-Krain, is strongly marked by a sub-range of the mountains primarily named Albia, Alpiona, and Okra, the foot-hills, called by the Slavs Verchia, and now Monte della Vena: viewed from the summits to the east, they appear a long blue-green line, trending from N.N.W to S.S.E. with the Trieste-Fiume high-road running along their western fort-hills. From the Tricorno, or Dreiherrenspitze, the Latin Tullum, Slav Triglava, corrupted Terglou, the apex (9036) feet of the Julian (not the Carnian) Alps extends to the south-east a *massif*, broken by the Adelsberg-Laibach river-valley cut by the Vienna-Trieste Railway, and again rising to its culminating point (5,322 feet), Mons. Albinus or Albianus, Mont Albiano, Monte Albio, or Neviso; the German (Krainer) Schneeberg, and the Slav Sneznik, both signifying the same thing. The Vena, which must be considered as the western buttresses and foot-hills of the great knot, begins north-west or near Trieste,* with the Monte Tajano, the Slav Slavnik, which *may* mean the "glorious," the two paps rising immediately behind the great Austrian Emporium; it trends S.S.E to Monte Oscale, or rather Monte Sia (1,238 mètres), near Sijane, and then bending with many a curve due south, and eventually to S.S.W., it subtends the eastern arm of the triangle; culminates in the monarch of Istrian mountains (1,394 mètres), Monte Maggiore, and finally sinks into the Quarnero at the Punta Negra near Albona.

From this chain with a double name, Vena and Caldiera, the surface of the Istrian peninsula falls gently westward in sub-ridges and foot-hills and gradual inclines, till it meets the tepid blue waves of the Adriatic. The complexion area, variously estimated at 3,410 to 4,945 square kilomètres, is physically divided into three regions, bands running parallel with the Vena range; the upper or Okran of dove-grey nummulite; the central, sub-Okran, or Pedemontan, of variously-tinted eocene sandstones; and the lower or maritime, where the monotony of growths, light green and dark green, are relieved by the bone-white chalk, barren of petrifications, and the fire-bleached fertilising dolomite.

I have often travelled through and round the Istrian peninsula by land and sea, and few pictures known to me are more

* Baron Carl von Czoernig (jun.) estimates this apex at 1,700 mètres, in his paper "Der Krainer Schneeberg."

amene and interesting. The scenery is Italian, yet not quite Italy, because it has a *cachet* of its own. The port-towns are pure Romano-Venetian, but with a peculiar type, suggesting fragments of the sea Cybele, built not among the waves, but upon rocky headlands. The inner towns preserve the wild and romantic aspect of mediæval fortresses in the Apennines. Both are cities in miniature, the village being unknown; and both may be of immense antiquity; here pre-historic remains are brought to light; there we find classical inscriptions and reliefs built up in the walls. Nor is the people less picturesque than its surroundings; there is a regular Italo-Istrian type, with short and straight features, pale-olive skin, and black hair, often curly; tall and slender figures, like the Guanche Spaniards of Teneriffe, and chests and haunches comparatively narrow. Small as it is, the peninsula is held by a dozen different races, mostly Italo-Venetian and Slavs, introduced between A.D. 600 and 1657. The Austro-Germans are found at Trieste, Capodistria, Pola, and the other Government establishments. The Slavenes or ancient Wends (Krainer Slavs), hold most of the northern regions. The Cici, mostly charcoal burners, and generally held to be Wallachs of ancient date, now Slav speakers, but retaining vestiges of an older tongue, are settled in High or Eastern Istria, at the head of the Rjeka (upper Timavus River), and extending into the middle regions; whilst more modern Wallachs occupy the Valarsa and Bedo, Susgueirza and the lands to the north and north-east of the Lago di Cepié (Lacus Arsice) Istria's only lake. Fianona is known to have been captured and occupied by Uzkoks, Uscoichi, the "Jumpers," or pirates of Sign, Signia, or Zengg, the Senia of the Gallic Senones; and Serbo-Croats hold the ancient Albonese Republic and that part of old Liburnia which extends from Fiumara to Fiume. The Morlaks (Morlacchi)* occupy the Polisana and the country extending from Dignano to Pisino; they are the worst of the race, bandits when they can be, and at all times assassins. Finally, a single village, Peroi,† near Pola, as has been said, is Montenegrin, and its population is dying out, they say, from persistent intermarriage. A very polyglottic peninsula! Even Trieste is trilingual: the Government speaks Austro-German; the citizens Veneto-Italian, and the suburbans Slovene.

Each of those races has not only its own dialect, but its peculiar costume, its habits and manners, its favourite industry, and its political prepossessions. As a rule, they are remarkable

* I have offered a few details concerning the Uzkoks and the Morlaks, in "Sosivizka" etc. ("Cornhill Magazine," No. 191, November, 1875.)

† See first paper (p. 23), concerning the "little Greek Colony of Peroi. They came from Cernizza of Montenegro in A.D. 1657.

for hard work, orderly conduct and civility, and even courtesy, to strangers.

As in the Crimea, the principal productions are salt and wine, the climate being somewhat too dry for cereals ; the salinas are mostly on the northern coast, and the vine is everywhere. A few head of cattle, sheep, and goats are bred on the barren uplands ; a little grain, especially the hardy maize (fromenton, kukuruz) on the damper lowlands ; and pisciculture, which like viticulture, is being civilised and developed, occupies the coast.

There are mines of lignite coal at Carpano, Pedena, and other places ; pyrites, alum, and vitriol at S. Pietro di Sovignano ; silex (saldame) for glass works about Pola ; mineral springs, cold at Isola, near Capodistria, and hot at S. Stefano, near Pinguente ; while clays for fire-proof bricks, and quarries of excellent stone, freestones, lithographic limestones, and marbles are found almost wherever they are wanted. The harbours were declared free-ports in 1861. The roads are tolerable and often good ; diligences traverse the country, and a branch railway, opened on the Imperial and Royal birthday (18th August, 1876), bisects it, running from Divaca on the Süd-Bahn or Great Southern, to Canfanaro, on the southern edge of the gorge-like Canale di Leme) ; here it forks ; one line running westward to Rovigno, the other south to Pola. Almost every village has its inn, and these are no longer what they were a few years ago :—

“Nasty, dusty, fusty,
Both with smoke and rubbish musty.”

(As old Richard Brathwait's “Itinerary” complained). Spring and autumn are delightful, as might be expected in these latitudes, with an altitude ranging from sea-level to an average of over a thousand feet, and the traveller should know that a fortnight can be spent in Istria with pleasure and profit.

In this paper I propose to take the “Lloyd's” steamer from Trieste to Fiume, landing at the places where pre-historic finds invite, and returning to whence we came by carriage through the heart of the country, *via* Pedena, Pisino, Corridico, and Pinguente.

Leaving Trieste, we steam across the Bay of Muggia, where the new Port of the great Emporium should have been ; the old Muglia, Mugila, Mugla, or Monteamulio, rich in antique remains where Mgr. Tomasini, Bishop of Cittanuova (nat. 1595, ob. 1654), and Petroni place one of the *tria Oppida*, Mutila, Faveria and Nesactium, destroyed by the Romans (*Livy, lib. LI, passim*). We then open a sister form, the Bay of Capodistria ; the classical Egida, afterwards Capraria and Justinopolis ; once

the head-quarters, as its name shows, of Veneto-Istrian jurisdiction ; then a favourite garrison of the French invader, who by a fine causeway converted it from an island to a headland ; and now a kind of Triestine suburb, well known for its ergastolo or reformatory prison. Artistically speaking it was a mistake—*valdè deflendus*—to exchange the picturesque ruin on the Castle-Mound for the huge square yellow pile, which catching the eye from every approach, forms the marking feature of the venerable miniature city.

Thence the course lies past Isola of old Halicetus, the lump of limestone in a region of sandstone, to the headland of Pirano, which much resembles that of Seráfend or Sarepta, although introduced into the Argo of the Venetian Pietro Contarini.

Et Muglam, et Machium, quin Calligynæca Pyrhenum, it is comparatively modern, and the jibe “Piranese pirati,”* excites great indignation. The approach is charming from the south and west. The quaint homes of the old town hug the tongue-tip and the western strand ; the large new buildings, tinted in “blonde’s colours,” salmon and tender-green, affect the tongue-root. St. George, with huge belfry and detached baptistery, resting like S. Francesco d’Assisi, upon tall arched buttresses, caps the bluff cliff east of the point, and the well-wooded shoulders of the mainland, whose high, bare, and scarred sea-face looks down upon the waves, support romantic mediæval ruins, a battlemented wall, and shells of towers which suggest a stage-scene. The background is glorious ; the purple-blue edge-line of the Carso or limestone-plateau, apparently over-hanging Trieste, and above it, in the far background, the “King Mountain,” more familiarly called Na-nos, or “the Nose,” with its aquiline bridge bearing in winter sparkling snows.

We now cross the mouth of the third great bight, known near the town as the Rada di Pirano ; to the east is the Porto Rose, a corruption of Porto Glorioso ; and inland or southwards, as La Dragogogna, more commonly La Dragogna. This, the Italianized incremental of Draga, a valley or seabight, is believed to be, like Largone, a corruption of “Argaion,” the Thracian name of the indentation, from the number of white (argos) streams that feed it. We should be grateful to the Slavs, who by slight changes so as to make them significant in their own tongues—the Italians call it *bisticcio* or punning—have embalmed so many classical names instead of barbarizing them like the Germans.

The north-western shoulder of the Istrian triangle is called

* They need hardly be ashamed of this ancient and honourable calling ; and perhaps jealousy gave the name. In Paolo Ramusio (de pell. constant.), we read “Histrian pirati,” and indeed all this coast has been as famous for sea-thieves as that of Western India.

Point Salvore, and here the redoubtable Bora or Nor-Nor-Easter is first felt by ships coming from the southern Adriatic. The term is popularly explained as denoting the escape of a king (Salvo Rè), Otho IV, son of Frederick Barbarossa, who in A.D. 1179, fought the Venetians in Porto Rose. The word, however, is bastard Latin, Salburium, from sal; Salbera being still used by the Venetians. Two "old men" of whitewashed stone show the deep-water channel between them. On the west of the baylet are the ruins of a square Venetian tower, and a deep moat upon the rising ground, suggests that it had once been an entrenched camp. Opposite lies the dwarf mole, whence a newly-made ramp leads to the church. This ledge is a thick stratum of *débris* underlying the grass; a stick can hardly scratch it without turning up bones, fragments of pottery, especially clay spindle-whorls, bits of glass and coins, mostly of the lower Roman Empire and of the Venetian Republic. The church of S. Giovanni, which existed in Otho's days, was dowered with many indulgences by Pope Alexander III, as the first two lines of its inscription tell us :

"Heus, populi, celebrate locum, quem tertius olim
Pastor Alexander donis cœlestibus auxit etc., etc."

It was restored in 1826, at which time, probably its celebrated battle-picture, by Tintoretto, found its way to Vienna. The comfortable parsonage shows signs of agriculture, apiculture, and sericulture, but the wintry blasts are a grievance. The south-westernmost point dons the usual maritime tricolor, the *terra rossa* (red soil), veiled in spring by smooth turf, the sun-bleached slabs of limestone, and the brown-black edging where the sulphates of the sea water tarnish the component oxide of iron. Here are the lighthouse (Fresnel system) and steam-horn, the former built in 1817, and the latter wanting more power to its voice.

Beyond the Lighthouse, we turn due south, along a coast here almost clear of islands. The first object of interest is the drowned city of Siparia, whose site is now denoted by the Sicche (shoals) di Sipar. It was destroyed probably by the gradual submergence of the coast levels, about A.D. 740, when Arupinum, the island bearing Old Rovigno, disappeared. In 1770, when, according to the Abbé Laugier, a dangerously low ebb-tide on this coast threatened Venice with a flow in proportion (*una fiera marea*), the ruins, covering some two miles, showed their mosaic floors, and well-built walls pierced with doors and windows.

The land here belongs to Dr. F. Venier of Pirano; and the Government Engineer, Sig. Righetti, was kind enough to act as guide when we visited it (15th October, 1876), in company with

Baron Pino di Friedenthal, Statthalter of Trieste. At the Punta Catoro, the southern spit of land projecting westward, with a neck only twenty feet broad, we inspected the Roman villa uncovered in 1875; it might have been a balneum, only there were no water tubs. We then rowed to the bottom of the bight past the shell of the three-storied Venetian building called the Castello di Sipar, and landed on the slippery rocks of Zambrattia, two fisher-houses and a chapel belonging to the Venetian Counts Rotta. A long "leg," up a rough limestone lane, to the manor-house "Roumania," beautified by some fine old almond-trees; and a second leg to the south, up a broken avenue, placed us upon the shallow dome of bush-clad hills, where stands the Castellier di Roumania. The position is north (mag.), with a little easting, from Umago, and viewed from the sea abreast, it appears a second distance of rounded hill, feathered at the horizon-line, with filmy trees. Here the land, being calcareous, well preserves the shape of the pre-historic rampart, a double concentric circle, the interior diameter measuring two hundred and twenty feet (English), with a circumference of seven hundred and eighty five; the thickness of the inner vallum is twenty-two feet and a-half; and the moat, which is distinctly traceable, between twenty and twenty-five feet. It must be very old; the "black malm" (*terrificio nero*), which characterises such places,* and the *cotti* (pot-sherds) have been buried by the decay of the vegetation, grass, oak-shrub, and the Spina Marrucca† (*Paliurus aculeatus*).

The Lloyd's steamer stops, though not long enough to land, at Umago and Cittanova. They are the normal second-class ports of this coast, built on rocky spits, almost sea-girt, and defended by walls, which in classical and mediaeval days had a sacrosanct character, being annually lustralled and placed under the protection of the god, and their successors the saints. These "honours of the city" are still garnished with bastions or with round towers, and pierced with what the Arabs call a *Bab-el-*

* First paper, pp. 15 and 39.

† In my first paper (p. 27) misprinted Spina Morocco; in Slav, Draca or Diraka, and in German Judendorf. This *Rhamnus* has long ago effected a lodgement on either side of the Adriatic, and many a place in Italy is called "The Marrucatone." The bright yellow blossoms and the delicate foliage conceal formidable thorns shaped like partridge-spurs; in winter, when their fierceness is not mitigated by the leafery, they are true "wait-a-bits." According to the learned Dennis ("Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria," vol. ii, p. 251, a book whose reappearance in a second edition the world will welcome), it is probably referred to by Polybius (ii, 28), when describing the battle near Ruselle. The Romans, he tells us, were obliged to strip lest their clothing should prevent their passing through the thickets. Throughout Istria I have found it as troublesome as in Syria; the appearance of the thorn, however, is pretty and picturesque.

Barr (land-gate) and a *Bab-el-Bahr* (water-gate.) The body of the place consists of a huge church, which could lodge half the population, of a belfry, often detached, whose bells were to the citizen what the *tuba* was to the soldier; of a small bilious-yellow masonry box labelled *Sanità* (health office); of a dwarf mole, locally called *La Porporella*, projecting from a neat quay of cut stone; of a marina or old town, a dull mass of grey-white houses with dingy tile roofs; and of a few big bran-new tenements on the claret-case model, showing the "new town," which belongs to this our age of great cities. Cittanova, besides its pier, owns a modern promenade with infant trees, apparently never visited by a promenader; the lands are rich, especially those belonging to the Counts Righi; yet the saying is, "Cittanova, chi porta trova," you find only what you carry, in the way of food. Of old Amonia, where Bishop Tomasini, whilome *Eminensis*, would place, despite Pliny and Ptolemy, debated *Nesactium*, its position promises better things. It stands at the northern jaw of the Porto Quiet, the gape of the valley of the same name, the largest and most important of the four great quaquaiversal features which drain the peninsula; and here, if anywhere, is the stream which the Captain commanding the First Periplus of the *Orbis Veteribus Notus*, mistook for a branch of the Ister.

Here, about the Val and Porto Quiet, Istria looks her best. The regular slope from east to west, shows,

"A ripple of land, such little hills the sky
Can stoop to tenderly, and the wheat fields climb."

The rounded outlines are clothed with vivid green during spring and early summer, and the slopes are studded with vineyards and oliveyards; the clumps and scrub patches, mostly of oak, ilex, and thorns, and dotted with whitewashed villages. The gradual rise, which resembles a "rake" or stage slope, sets off the mountain back-ground of Lower Krain; we shall see Nanos of the snowy nose almost as far south as Parenzo; then Monte Maggiore appears in ermine to the south-east, and northwards tower the glorious peaks and pinnacles of the eastern or Julian Alps fronting Trieste: steadfast forms played over by the changing suns and clouds.

The principal settlements are Buje to the north, and Castellier, with its towering campanile, to the south of the Val Quiet. The former, connected by diligence with Trieste, from its position at the edge of a commanding height, is popularly known as *La Spia* (*Specula Vedetta*), or the look-out, and it was one of the nine Istrian bishoprics, under the title *Evelensis*. Mgr. Tomasini (p. 294) thus accounts for its Slav name. When the people of a certain "gradina" near the Val Quiet were flying

from their enemies, they rested on this hill, and one of them said, *Tote boglie state*, "here better we stay." Hence Boglie, Buglie and Buje, a derivation not faultless, but at any rate better than that proposed by Giovanni Battista Bivago—Bugia in Africa.

The next halt is at Parenzo, fifteen years ago a "deserted town," now the seat of the Istrian Diet. Its "*Basilica Eufrasiana*" or cathedral, which in ecclesiastical interest "perhaps yields only to Rome and Ravenna," has been copiously described by a host of writers, amongst ours by Neale and Freeman. Before the date of the historian's visit (1875), the seaboard of Istria, like that of Dalmatia, was almost a *terra incognita* to Great Britons; the war of 1876 has now made it a favourite trip. The new town stands at the root of the spear-headed rock-tongue that projects boldly to the W.N.W. It is of unusual size and importance; and it is the seat of the Istrian Diet, and the centre of economic energy. An Oenological Department has lately been established under two officials, paid partly by imperial, and partly by provincial funds.

About Parenzo and Rovigno, the grape is mostly of one kind; in other parts of the peninsula, the peasant will plant red and white in a single field. The phylloxera has affected many vineyards near Rovigno, and the unprogressive people, who will not believe in the sulphur-cure, have uprooted their infected vines like the Madeirans during the *öidium* attack of 1865. On the Isola S. Andrea, further south, the French plant was introduced, but it did not prosper. As a rule, the small proprietor is utterly ignorant of viticulture; he looks only to quantity, not quality; he mixes various sorts, he uses the unripe as well as the rotten, he neglects his produce during the delicate process of fermentation, and he is too careless to rack it off the lees. Hence the yield may be good vinegar, but it is execrable wine. Many of the wealthier landowners have turned their attention to improvements, and the result is a sound and wholesome article. In the Zaole Valley, an hour's walk from Trieste, a Swiss proprietor, M. Collioud, who not only grows his grapes, but also buys them from the neighbouring cultivators, can command for his red wine a florin and a half (three francs) per bottle, and for an arna, which yields about eighty bottles, we pay thirty florins or three pounds. It is clear and palatable, but it has not the *petit godet rosé* of the French *vin ordinaire*, which is remarked by every traveller from Italy, when he tastes it at Modane. My conviction is, that first-rate light wines are not to be made south of Germany and France; where the suns scorch, and the rains are rare, the inevitable result is to develop alcohol.

Opposite Parenzo, where the seaboard-profile breaks into

lumpy hillocks, contrasting with the long sweeping curves and lines further north, begins the false-coast of islets, reefs and crags, which fringes the peninsula to its southern apex. As is shown by the ossiferous breccias, which are found even upon the smaller features, they were once part of the mainland, which still sinks in the Istrian and Dalmatian shores, whilst Italy rises, as is proved by the Adriatic ports, Ravenna, Venice, and Rimini.

The general aspect is a shallow dome, with a base of white cretaceous lime, capped by green turf, bush and trees; almost every one has its own plants, as though it were a separate continent, and all are valuable as breakwaters, forming the safe and commodious roads of Parenzo, Rovigno, and Fasana, with northern and southern entrances. At least three have been inhabited in pre-historic days, one, Scoglio Marafor (=Martis Forum) opposite Parenzo, retains its classical name, and many of the others show villages or convents, churches or chapels, the latter in preservation, or in ruin retaining only the cypresses.

With the islands begins a melancholy and almost deserted tract which stretches to near Pola. Much of the land is uncultivated, showing bush and scrub scantily clothing the grey white rock and red soil, which the three rainless months of summer bake to *terra cotta*; here water often costs as much as wine. The necessary, supplied only by the winter showers, is allowed to form perennial ponds and swamps (*lame laghi* and *paludi*) that poison the air; hence even in the Roman days votive tablets were inscribed PRO FEBRIBVS, against tertians. The pools cannot be drained, because wanted for watering cattle, and the province has not yet attempted to grow eucalyptus. Since pauper huts instead of handsome villas are remarked upon the best "stanzie" (estates),* and "La Torre" has been allowed to fall in ruins, no one sleeps a-field. At 6-7 A.M. you see the labourers with their carts and beasts leaving the towns, in which fear of fever compels them to night. We may say of this land as of the Campagna di Roma,

"Lontan da Città
Lontan da Sanità."

Passing the Canale di Leme (Culleus Lemenis), a sea-arm seven miles deep, we touch at Rovigno, which, after Trieste, is the largest and most populous of Istrian towns. It stands upon a tall rocky headland, trending as usual to the N.N.W.; and it begins conspicuously with its pre-historic modern Duomo, whose prodigious attached belfry has won many a wager from priests proud of and ready to back their own Campanili. The

* First paper, p. 24.

northern or back-bay (Porto val di Bora) is dangerous ; not so the southern, formed by the Isola di S. Caterina ; this sea-holm which, from above, appears three-lobed, and on paper a lance head pointing landwards, bears an old steeple and some two hundred and eighty species of plants, including the asphodel and the *Avena hirsuta*. The old town, lately a fishing village, with streets and alleys, closes and wynds, high and narrow, stepped and foul ; with open drains and slimy green tanks, has half a dozen churches and chapels in as many piazzette ; a large monastery, with about a dozen Minori Osservanti, and a big white penitentiary. The new town at the Riva or marina shows a chief piazza, with cafés and telegraph office ; a neat quay, pierlet and Sanità, and, to the extreme south, a barrack-like and bran-new tobacco-manufactory, employing some five hundred hands. The railway station is in Back Bay, as usual here, so far from the centre that the unregulated carriage-hire will cost more than the fare. The pretence is to leave room for the towns to grow ; the real object is that the line, laid out by Imperial engineers, should serve chiefly, if not solely, for Imperial purposes. Let us hope that the effect will be that proverbially ascribed to faithfully studying the ingenuous arts.

There is indeed room for improvement. The Rovignese, numbering some eleven thousand, are the most turbulent and troublesome of the Italo-Istrians, even the women being fond of using the knife.

They speak a dialect of their own, which Dante terms barbaro incongruo e crudele. They are of peculiar type, dark and red-cheeked ; their unfriends derive them from the Roman cohort, which was doomed, after the Crucifixion, to wander Cain-like over earth, till Arupinum gave a shelter. Hence are explained such street names as Gerusalemme, Betlehemme, and Calvario —which, by-the-by, suggest the ecclesiastic, rather than the anti-ecclesiastic tendency.

Their pride has lately had a queer fall : they applied for a bishop to the Government, and the latter supplied them with a "Boja ;" hence the hangman is now called, in cruel wagery, the "Vescovo di Rovigno" (*Episcopus Arupini*).

The environs of the unpeaceful city are not without prehistoric interest. On April 30th, 1874, guided by one Pietro Genovese, a treasure-seeker, who made no secret of his craft, I accompanied MM. Tommasini and Marchesetti to inspect a sepulchre lately opened near the Canale di Leme. Twenty minutes' walk past Back Bay, led us to the Lago di Ran (frog-lake), a foul tank which spreads wide after rain, and which contracts in the "dries" with copious malaria. To the north of it

rises Monte Ricco*, where there are old *latomiae* of good stone facing west, and where a Roman cemetery has supplied lachrymatories and sarcophagi. About thirty minutes' walk north-east of the Frog Lake, and bearing three hundred and forty-five degrees (Mag.) from Orsera, the tall town on the northern jaw of the Culleus Limenis is Monte Longo, where the usual limestones, nummulitic and hippuritic, become distinctly dolomitic. Descending by a ladder a rude shaft twenty-nine feet deep, we found a cavern-doorway nine feet high by four feet wide, with signs of a door, square bevel-holes in the rock sides for bars, and two uninscribed cippi at the threshold-flanks. A tunnel, twenty-four feet long, and very low, till lately cleared by the "Tesoriero," led to a vaulted circular room, whose ceiling still bore marks of the small pick, like the caves of the kings near Jerusalem; an upper spiracle admitted the air; one of the shallow lateral bays was marked with a cross, and a hollow sound suggested that grave vaults might be below. A single rough cippus stood inside. The yield had been sepulchral lamps, inscribed with the maker's name, or adorned with the dolphin, and two spindle-whorls of clay, which the fishing population unanimously declared to be net-weights. The general aspect was that of the Etruscan *Sala*, in which the annual Silicernium (death-feast) was eaten, and the learned Prof. Carlo di Courbi, has found in the Istrian peninsula other traces of the mysterious Rasne or Rasenna.

Allow me to offer a few words upon the Tesoriero or treasure-hunter of Istria. Although by no means ashamed to own that he has tried his luck—and failed—he is beginning to suffer from the jibes of men, and thus he will presently decline and die out. As in Syria and Egypt, the Maghrabi (north-west African) is the successful magician, so here the "Grego" is the adept: there are everywhere legends of Greeks landing by night, marching to the local ruin: consulting a plan in writing on parchment, and disappearing with their booty. Doubtless during the Byzantine occupation, and during the general stampede which followed the fall of Constantinople (A.D. 1453), many Hellenes fled to the Adriatic shores—hence possibly the tradition. Like the Eastern alchemist, the gold-hunter demands from his dupe fat capons and turkeys, barrels of wine, and perhaps the favours of some fair member of the family. "Il Diavolo di Pedena," who is still quoted, used to appear in fiendish form, and, with the most terrible of voices, assure his victim that the profits would be cent. per one (if largesse): hence the "devil" was imprisoned, not for "unlawfully using certain subtle crafts, devices, &c.," but for *truffa* (raising money on false pretences), and his employer

* In the Austrian Government maps, Monte Bicco, probably a misprint.

bore through life the title of *Cento per uno*. Rhabdomancy is also practised, but the magic "Baguette" (*bacchetto magico*), hazel-rod, is thrown, I am told, upon the ground, instead of being held by the forked end as in northern Europe.

Beyond Rovigno, the Monte Aureo (Punta di Monte Auro) has been identified with Mons. Taurus, and the Isola di S. Andrea, with its castelliere and its old convent, now manufactures hydraulic lime.

A little south is the rock of S. Giovanni, in Pelago, a two-lobed form, over whose central depression the wrecked ship of a pious skipper was miraculously carried into smooth water; hence the chapel dedicated to the Evangelist. Point Barbariga, of old Cissana, shows ruins identified with the old Thracian city Cissa; a purple manufacture (Baphium) is noted in the "Notitia utriusque Imperii." The maritime lands are still barren and sun-brownéd. They improve about Dignano (Adinianum or Atinianum), and yet there is hardly a tree between that village and the shore. Presently we shall enter the regions of evergreens, the ilex and terebinth, the cistus (three species), the arbutus and erica (arborea); the phillyrea (*latifolia*); the myrtle and the oleander, the wild caper being the most common of the dozen varieties. Here the people, as has been said, are Morlaks; they are distinguished like the Cici by their long Gáce (*braghe* or tights) of white woollen stuff, which they appear never to change. Gareis says of them, "Der Slave hier ist unwissend, aber gläubisch (superstitious), misstrauisch, und besitzt eine ziemliche Portion von Faulheit."

We leave to starboard the Brioni Islands (*Insulæ Pullariæ*, Pliny iii, 30), whose two main features, the Scigli Grande and Minore, contain more than one castelliere (Kandler); an ossiferous breccia has lately been found about four hundred yards east of the new Pharos at Point Peneda. We pass between the little Prellarian archipelago and the mainland by the Canale di Fasana, which, it is said, would have formed a far better harbour for ironclads, than Pola, haunted by the Biscia or Teredo.

As we approach this new Portsmouth, which owns its existence as "principal station of the I. R. Marine" (1853), to the unfortunate "Archduke Max," we remark that Strabo (V. 1, § 9) is still correct when he asserts "Pola is situated in a gulf forming a kind of port, and containing some small islands (not the Brioni of our translations), fruitful, and with good harbours." Passing fortified Punta Cristo, and within it Sanci, we find a host of quasi-modern works on the northern jaw crossing fire with the Brioni batteries, and with the defences of the southern Point "Compare." And now, as Berlingeri says—

“Pola poi s’appruova
Pesta da’ Colchi privi d’ogni Speme
Prender Medea, che da lor non si truova :
Oh quanto il nome suo a lei conviene !
Che appresso a lor ‘Città d’esuli’ importa
E il nome suo vetusto ancor ritiene.”

On such a day as this, Sir Humphry Davy thought the harbour “one of the most glorious visions in the world;” it is equally admired by Turnbull in 1840; and Neale found the entering a “moment never-to-be-forgotten.” But since those days it has greatly changed by the growth of a new Pola, numbering some twelve thousand inhabitants, and almost equalling that of the Augustan age. As we steam past the Battery Island, we remark that the *Scoglio (degli) Olivì* (map delle olive or oliveninsel), alias S. Floriano, which anciently supported the mausoleum of Rasparaganus, king of the Sarmatian Rhoxolani (A.D. 120) and where, a score of years ago, goats browsed, now boasts of the most modern appliances in slips and balance-dock. The marking features are the citadel, the Roman capitol or hauteville, which presided over the other six hills, and below it the Franciscan convent (built A.D. 1285) now a military magazine; while ranged along the shore-line are the columned Palazzo Stabile, or “Festungs-Commandogebäude;” the cathedral, “of marvellous interest,” with the several riding-school windows; the large new barracks opened in 1875, the Rena or amphitheatre which, fronted by houses which did not exist in Davy’s day, has now lost all its grand isolation, and the little railway station in the valley of S. Pietro, vulgarly Valle Lunga.

Several antiquarian discoveries have lately been made at Pola, and the finds have been deposited in the local museum, the Temple of Rome and Augustus, facing the Piazza, which was once the Forum. And there are improvements since I visited the Arsenal in 1873. The “Coliseum,” whence Mr. Neale “turned sorrowfully away after thinking of the Christian martyrs,” has been defended (1875) by iron railings seawards, and a solid wall inland. The municipality has also enclosed the funereal gateway of the Sergii, or Minerva-gate, which opened upon the Via Flavia, the latter once a line of sepulchres like the Appian Road; its modern name is Porta Aurata or Aurea, and vulgarly “Porta Rata.” But the Roman single arch-gate to the East, opening on the military road to Albona, and now bridging the citadel-moat, is still, despite the complaints of Gareis (p. 72) and others, the common cess of the neighbourhood; in this matter the Slavs of Istria are incorrigible. At last (October, 1876) the “Maximilian’s Monument” has been finished, with the legend “Von der Kriegsmarine in dankbarei

Erinnerung ;" but it is hardly worthy of the gallant Austrian navy, or of the Prince which raised it to its present rank. And, what concerns the traveller far more, the two inns have been brushed up ; and they are no longer "filthy pot-houses ;" where the people are civil, but charge exorbitantly.

South of Pola, the shore is subtended by a line of lumpy hills, green and bush-grown, to the north and southwards of naked limestone. From the offing we see over the nearest distance the bare head of Monte Goly (Monte Calvo or Bald mountain) and the dark flank of Punta Negra, while the whole is crowned by the wall, jagged-edged and crateriform, of Monte Maggiore, capping an elevated plain. We pass Medolino, the townlet S.S.E. of Pola and in the Agro Polense, identified by Coppo and most antiquaries with the *Mutita deteta* by the Romans. The fine quarries are reached by a good highway from Pola, a restoration of Vespasian's Via Flavia ; and near the modern settlement is rising ground about the old castle, where the old Thracian city probably stood. We steam outside the once dangerous lump of limestone called the Scoglio Porer, with its lighthouse and buoys distinguishing the channel from the *Secca Pericolosa*. Thence the course doubles the southern apex of Istria, the low dome "Punta di Promontore" (Polaticum Promontorium) ; in a Venetian map of 1572, it is called Punta di Compare, the former term being assigned to a north-eastern headland. Crossing the Golfo di Medolino, whence Pola lies completely open to a land attack, we pass the Punta Merlera (Point Scallop), and the various projections between it and the Arsa mouth, known as Le Merlere ; it is a good description of these hogbacks with black-green vegetation based upon ruddy calcareous soil, with chalky-white snouts, gnawed, burnt and blackened by the ever restless Quarnero.

Our course now shifts to the N.E. We shall presently return to the fjords known as the Valle di Bado and the Canale del Arsa, where, as has been said, Augustan Istria ends and Liburnia begins. We sight the lone tower of S. Giovanni in Bosca (S. Ivanaz), over the gloomy Punta Negra, the *Pax tecum* of some maps. This, the last buttress of the Caldera-Sissol range, has been provided with a small lighthouse. The next feature is the little port of Rubaz, to which we shall return ; it is separated by a rounded *massif* Monte Usir, from the Fjord of Fianona. The latter is a long inlet, ending seawards in a "swatch," or long narrow gorge, which suggests the action of an ancient river.

At the southern end of the now shrunken Lake Apich, there was till lately a "Katabathron," like that of Aphaalons, an Argostoli sufficiently strong to work a mill, but the mouth filled up, and the building is in ruins. Since then we have, or

rather we had, a lake with two outlets, the submarine and the subaërial, the latter being the important and well-defined Valarsa.

At the head of this fjord stands the grim townlet of Fianona, the Slav "Plomin," looking like the nest of pirates and smugglers that it was, and contrasting strongly with the comparatively open settlements, and their riant surroundings. It clings to the southern flank of Monte Zuccherino, Sissol, or Mala Uzka (2,600 feet), a mountain of highly-contorted outlines, which, after a slight depression connects northwards with Monte Maggiore. Upon this block, near the chapel of Santa Barbara, is the traditional site of an ancient castle called Lisborna or Lesborna (Liburnia ?)

Off Fianona we enter the narrow Canale di Farasina, which parts Eastern Istria from the north-western end of bleak and barren Cherso Island, whose snows sometimes, as in Iceland, descend to the sea. Here we open the glorious Gulf of Fiume, no mean rival, especially when both wear their winter suits, to the Bay of Naples. We steam along the Liburnian shore, under the shadow of Monte Maggiore, the Saint Angelo of our Adriatic Parthenope, which adds grandeur to the picturesqueness of the scene. It is this culminating point of Istria (4,400 feet), the Mons Major of the Romans; the Monte Caldera, Caldier, Caldeera, Caldaro, or Caldar of the Italo-Istrians, and the Vela Uzka of the Slavs; some derive the latter name from the village to the west; others translate it the "big narrow," from the shape of the culminating spine, and opposed to the "little narrow" (Mala Uzka) Sissol. Very rich and luxuriant are the eastern slopes and fort-hills of this monarch of Istrian mountains; the amenity of the climate and the extreme beauty of the vegetation made this section of the Liburnian coast a favourite with the conquerors of the world.

Still hugging the shore, whose tall limestone walls are pierced with many a cave bored by the blue-rocks, we pass Bersetz town, remarking its fine bathing sands, where boats ride at anchor through the winter. We admire the eccentric cities of the high road to Fiume, whose white ribbon in long line stripes the dark green, without the slightest regard for levels. Beyond the tall town of Moschienizza opens its draga which, under the name Val di Sára, runs up to the southern base of Mons Major. Here we expect to see the water power made useful, and are told that "it is proposed." The mouth divides the Commune from that of Lovrane (Lauretum) where the evergreen which named it, has apparently yielded the palm to the edible chesnut: this *Marrone* is looked at in a variety of ways. Baytree town, famed for its battle in A.D. 695, being upon the sea-board, has been

defended from pirates by walls and two fortlets; now we remark only its mole and Mandracchio (inner port). From this point we strike nearly due east, and with a glance at the high-placed church of Saint Peter; at the beautiful grounds of the Abbazia Villa; at tall Castura, at low-lying Voleska and its portlet Priluka, where the tunny enters the chamber of death, we make old Tersatica Fiume.

We have then, in little more than twenty-four hours, passed round the three sides of the Istrian peninsula. The Lloyd's steamers stop at Pola between five and ten P.M., and thus they double the southern point during the dark. By taking the carriage-road to Trieste, in an eight hours' drive, you may encircle Adriatic Istria.

Istria is small in stature, great in fame. Its climatal and jetturic accidents have made it, like Syria and Palestine, a manner of earth's epitome. The mountainous region bounding the east suffers from the cold of England; the lowlands to the south and west enjoy the tepid warmth of Italy; the aloe flourishes at Rovigno, and the bush feathers Monte Maggiore, distant only thirty direct miles. In Roman days the peninsula was a meeting-place of nations, being traversed by two great highways; the great south-eastern connecting York and Aquileja with Constantinople and the Levant; and the eastern line between Ancona, Pola, the rival of Ravenna, Zara and the Danube to Pannonia. Hence it was the chosen abode of Emperors, like Vespasian, and of patrician families like the Crassi (Licinii) the Sergii (Castro Polæ), and a host of *clarissimi viri* and of *clarissimæ fæminæ*, whose villas not only lined the shore, but extended to the centre. Hence, too, the attention paid to it by the poets, the geographers and the historians of antiquity. Of late years it has been unduly neglected.

SECTION II.

Rubaz, the *marina* or port of Albona, is a settlement with half-a-dozen houses, including a little inn; it has a stone-reveted quay, a dwarf mole of good masonry, and two stepped landing-places. A life-boat, the "Felis" has been presented to it by a patriotic citizen, and the civil "deputate" (health-officer) Sig. Lorenzo Dominié, by his friends called the Admiral, takes a pleasure in showing us everything. The harbour is connected, by a good *carrozzabile* made by the commune, with its town Albona, the latter looking from afar like a huge mediæval castle eyried on a mountain-top, with the tall belfry acting land-mark. The road runs up the left side of a rugged ravine, called in the town part the *Valle di Ripenda*, from the district (comune)



which subtends the seaboard; about half way up, a bridge spanning a northern branch affluent which drains the upper bed, and which rolls a cataract after rains, separates Ripenda from Albona; and here the main gorge becomes the Valle d'Albona.

The steep and stony flanks are seamed with paths; and in places the Fiumara works mills under difficulties; during summer the bed is bone-dry, and in winter it pours a furious flood after heavy rains.

The Ripenda-Albona ravine is sunk in the normal series of Istrian limestones (eocene nummulitic), and forcibly reminds the traveller of similar features in the Anti-Libanus. Below the nummulites, hippurites, and radiolites (Rudisten-Kalk), lies on both sides of the valley, with a sharp dip, a band of limestone full of the bivalve (*perna*), which polishes like marble; the thickness varies from eighteen inches to two feet. The eocene sandstone appears on either side. About half way up (five hundred feet), we find on the left flank a quarry of sandy marl (*grès marnées*), which strikes to the N.N.W.; burnt and mixed with sand, it forms, like the Santorin earth, a fine hydraulic cement. Formerly it was fired on the spot, but the forno did not pay, and now it is shipped raw to the Rovigno works.

Reaching the Col, we bend from north-west to south-west, and stand upon the Altipiano (plateau) of Albona, a swelling ridge of extreme fertility, broken westward by two great gorges: the first is the Val di Carpano, a copy of the Ripenda-Albona ravine, draining the prison, and the second is the Valarsa (Val d' Arsa), in former times the subaërial drain of the Lacus Arsiae, the now stagnant Cepich, which breeds fatal fevers. The inland view also has its attractions. Almost due north stands Monte Maggiore, simulating a cold Vesuvius; like the Julian Alps seen from Trieste, it is a local barometer, whose cap of clouds promises rain. A little further east rise the belfries of Pedena and Galignana, thrown in relief by the pure blue sky. The narrow plateau, of red calcareous soil, is covered with vineyards, and three villas now represent the three towers that defended the northern approach. Along the eastern side of the rock-mound, here bluff, there sloping, upon which Albona stands, we easily trace the now grassy ramp of Roman days, and we see the classical arch*, at present blocked up, which pierced the tall ivy-clad walls of the oldest fortress.

Following the modern communal road, which communicates with Fiume and Pisino, as well as with Rabaz, we pass on the right the type of an Istrian chapel, della Madonna, whose long

* Near the north eastern entrance, Porta S. Biagio.

tiled porch, supported by thin monolithic colonnettes, received under its slabs the dead, before the new cemetery was laid out south of the town. High above us to the left are the old palaces which form the *enceinte* of the ex-republican capital ; three square bastions have also been converted into dwelling-houses, and a long curtain of tall tenements, with fourteen windows, still belongs to the Depanghes, Manzini and Negri families. The Borgo or new town, whose chief square (Piazza del Borgo) contains the Loggie of Venetian days, and the modern Casino di Società, is approached by new buildings ; conspicuous amongst which is that of Sig. G. de Furlane, *detto il Capotto*, with one half by no means reflecting the other.

We find rooms in the old hostelry, "Albergo al Cittadino" of Francesco Vladissovich : there is a new establishment in the upper town, but it wants the fair view of its ancient rival.

Albona, by the Greeks called Alouon, and the Slavs Labin, has been frequently described, and it has its monographer. The latter was "Bartolomeo Giorgini" of Asola, who calls himself an *Aromatario* (apothecary); domiciliated in the town ; he printed his twelve chapters in 1733. He places the city in north latitude $44^{\circ} 40'$, and "grade" $37^{\circ} 30'$ (Ptolemy, east longitude 36°), in the fourteenth parallel, and at the extremity of the seventh climate, with a maximum length of day of fifteen hours twenty-four minutes. The territory measures sixteen by a maximum of ten (Italian) miles, and its circumference of seventy is bounded north by the Lago di Ceslano, and south and west by the Arsa. The founders *may have been* the Colchians, who, in B.C. 1222 (= A.M. 2731, and A.U.C. 500) "settled in Japidia, which they called Istria." But he places, without any reason, the first Albona at Starigrad ("old town"), six miles from the present site, and eight miles from the sea : the people, finding the air bad and water scarce, removed to the present hill-top. After the capture of Istria by the "Rerum domini," Albona, as is shown by frequent inscriptions, was a republic, and a municipium with the *Ædiles* and *Duumviri*, and a *Concilium Decurionale*. She is said, on very imperfect grounds, to have embraced Christianity in A.D. 65. The territory suffered severely from the Marcomanni and Quadi (A.D. 373) ; from the Visigoths (A.D. 380) ; from the Heruli (A.D. 487) ; from the Ostrogoths, under Theodoric the Great (A.D. 489) ; and from the Longobards (A.D. 526). After belonging for thirty-two years to the Empire of the East, she in common with Istria, was united by Carolus Magnus with the Western Empire (A.D. 788-909) and finally, under Frederick Barbarossa (A.D. 1172), she was transferred to the Patriarchate of Aquileja.

About the fourteenth century, the "oppidum" had been reduced

to a mere castle, about half the size of the present "Old Town." After various sufferings from the Saracens and other barbarians, it was happily united (A.D. 1420) with the then *Regina del Mare*, of which men wrote *dominium Venetorum non deficit usque ad finem mundi*. It retained its liberties, was ruled by its Podestas, or Rettori, and obtained for arms a cross gules on a field argent; moreover, the extent was more than doubled, thus forming a new Old Town: the *enceinte* being strengthened by a curtain and five square towers, which still remain, except that to the north-east, fallen a few years ago. In 1587-1600, the chief entrance of the new or south-western town—not to be confounded with the Borgo or suburb outside the walls—was further protected with two *propugnacula* or *baluarte*, round towers of which the Terrione is a specimen, and with a Revellino, here meaning the flanking wall: they were furnished with twelve *aenea tormenta* (bronze patereros), for which Doge Marino granted one thousand gold sequins. Over the inner gate, where stands the now secularised chapel of San Fior (Bishop of Cittanova, A.D. 524), was placed the Lion of Saint Mark, with a movable ball of stone in mouth. On the night of January 19th, 1599, Albona was attacked by seven hundred to a thousand Uzkoks or pirates of Signa, sent by the Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz to worry Venice by harrying Istria; they were beaten off with a loss of seven, and they seized the dependency of Fianuma, then unfortified.

I must refer readers to Giorgini's volume for the discovery, about A.D. 1817, at a place called Calich (one MS. gives Calick), of the "giant of Albona," whose bones were three times the size of the biggest man; and concerning the origin and the armorial bearings of the families Battiala and Negri, Luciani and Scampicchio, Coppe and Frankovich, Ferri, Dragogna, Munzini, Manzoni, and Tagliapietra.

The Museo Scampicchio had acquired since my last visit, three fragments of stone implements, two found at Pisino, and one in diggings south of Albona, near the smaller Cistern. These hardly deserve illustration, but I forward a tracing of a bronze (copper?) dagger blade, it was dug up by the treasure-seeking family, *Cento per uno*, a little north of the Pervodraze farm-house, about fifteen minutes' walk to the south-west of Cunzi. The sides, which converge with the slightest catenary curve, are sharp, and the raised surface, with a margin of one-eighth to a quarter of an inch, want the ornamental lines and points which distinguish the most finished weapons. The "part wanting" has been rubbed off probably by the rude trials of the treasure-seeker, and it is suspected that the handle was thrown away.

My first step was to the Castelliere di Cunzi, the type of its kind, where one seems to stand in the presence of proto-historic man. Again we enjoyed the view from the Krizni-berg,* or cross hill, one of many little heights which, however, was not occupied by the old race. We explained the water supply of the Istrian settlement, which stood on a limestone plateau overlying the "Tasello," like the heights south of Albona, and from the junction of these formations the element is plentifully supplied. Again I saw no trace of the dreaded *vipera del Corno*, the gat of the Slavs, which is described as a unicorn with a red tail. We gathered quantities of *Cotti*, pot-sherds whitened by the deposit of lime in the walls. The earthenware in the castellieri is mostly of one kind, thick, massive, and heavy. The fracture shows a dark and often an almost black core, the result of imperfect baking with thorn fire in the open air, such being the general custom of barbarians. The reddish-yellow outer coat is dotted with bright points of silex, or of limestone; these diminish in the improved forms, of which specimens were collected at Corridico; and they entirely disappear from the Roman pottery, so abundant on the Istrian seaboard. Finally, the unbroken specimens are all of the rudest shape, ignoring the wheel, and the lips and handles are equally coarse, massive and irregular.

My friend Sig. Ernesto Nacinovich, of the Hospitale Santa Dominica (formerly Dubrova), who on our first visit showed us the Starigrad di Prodol, had discovered the remains of another castelliere, about a mile north-east of his father's house, at the place called in the Austrian map "Erschiscze" (pron. Ersiskie). The site belongs to the Comune of Fianona, the gorge of that name bearing 130° (Mag.) from, and close to, the whitewashed "Villa Erschiscze." His attention was aroused by the country folk bringing him two fragments of a massive human skull. Tall limestone rocks weathered to nakedness occupy the centre of the area, and the *enceinte* was apparently, according to general rule, divided into two unequal parts, by a wall of rough blocks, six still lying on the ground, and trending nearly north and south (Mag.). There are also signs of an entrance. The northern arc of the *vallum* shows two natural projections, which may have been useful as rude bastions, whilst in the southern face there are three. Excavations in the mound produced the characteristic black earth; pottery, including

* See first paper (pp. 18—20), when, however, the misprint Krini-brek occurs. My collaborator has supplied me with a plan of the *enceinte*, the work of a qualified engineer, Sig. Enrico Soutzek. I am rejoiced to say that it establishes the correctness of the rude sketch facing p. 20. This year the oak-copse will be cleared off, a septennial operation when money is not scarce, and there will be a good opportunity of taking the long-promised photograph.

several fragments with handles, bones of man, beast, and teeth of cattle, sheep or goats, swine, and apparently rabbits.

Late in August 1876, Dr. Scampicchio and I proceeded to examine the cave of Trdácina (pron. Terdazzina), the "place of great cold," on the Strada S. Giovanni (del lago), almost due south of, and almost an hour's easy walk, from Albona. Cav. Luciani has long been of opinion that these features, so abundant in the limestone formations of Istria, would yield troglodytic remains, a theory in which I had little confidence. Immediately on leaving the town, the limestone clifflet capping the sandstone shows signs of occupation; here probably was some defence for the important line leading to Porto Traghet, the Traghetto or Ferry of the Arsa. Immediately below, and to the east of the Hauteville, to the left of the road, lies La Cisterna Grande, of Roman date, solidly built of fine brick, with square pillars, vaults and rounded arches; a little further on is a second, which remains blocked up, and a third, La Cisterna Piccola, or La Zuecca, used by tanners, is under the Campo Santo in the place called Alle Fontane. Also on the left is the chapel of S. Mauro, where were found cinerary urns, and the funerary inscriptions of the Gavillius or Cavilius family, of which one is now preserved in the Loggie of Albona. Further seaward lies S. Gallo, which yielded a stone inscribed "to the Holy Nymphs," on a balneum built for the use of the Municipium; while southermost of all, lies Grasischie, a position commanding the roads to Rabaz, Portolungo and Santo Marina.

Passing to the left the chapel of Santa Maria Maddalena, belonging to the Scampicchio family, we leave on the opposite side that of S. Michele upon a height. We see near us the village Castelliere de S. Antonio di Monte on the right bank of the Albona gorge, all its antiquities having been destroyed, and far below us appears the long bare point of Portolungo, the northern jaw of the fjord immediately south of the Rabaz bight. A wall of large stones across the narrow neck, and another cistern for rain-water, suggests that this was the site of a Roman villa, a common feature on the seaboard of Albona, where the conquerors of the world, having no fear of pirates, enjoyed their bathing, and breathed air 4° (F.) warmer than the temperature of the upper elements. Before, however, proceeding to Trdácina, I will translate the last communication upon the subject of these caverns sent to me by Cav. Luciani, with my own remarks upon his long list.

Doctor Scampicchio sent on half-a-dozen labourers, and whilst they sank their shaft, we measured the cave. Its length is twenty-four mètres, by seven to eight broad, and the average height may be five. One of the Negri family had converted it

into an ice-house by paving the floor, by running across the mouth a dry-wall provided with a doorway, and by similarly protecting the smaller and deeper end. Various holes picked in the ceiling and in the sides, showed the familiar signs of the treasure-seeker. But our search was utterly unsatisfactory.

The calcareous red earth was found undisturbed; only the narrowest stratum, about a foot below the level, denoted the black mould, and it was probably due to temporary occupation by shepherds or robbers; a few mouldered bones of beasts, and fragments of old pottery, which might have been transported, formed the sole and the unsatisfactory find. We dug down to the ground rock, one mètre or so below the surface; then we gave up Trdácia as hopeless; and with it all hopes of finding troglodytic man in the Istrian peninsula.

I had always doubted, despite the robust belief of my friend Luciani, that a race of cave-dwellers would be found in this region. As a rule* the troglodyte affects climates which are either very hot and rainless, as near the Red Sea, or cold, as in the north of France. Moreover, cave-dwellers do not, even in our day, readily give up their cheap and comfortable abodes; this may be seen throughout La Beance, and even at Saint Cime, within an hour's railway-travel from Paris. Again, the perpetual infiltration of rain, which doubtless was more abundant in the days before Istria-land was disforested, must have made them damp and malarious, in fact very uncomfortable compared with those of the chalk. The essentially temperate climate of the fair peninsula, also, would suggest subaërial habitations, and it offered peculiar facilities for building; limestones whose natural fracture saves the trouble of blasting and cutting, and abundance of wood for the rude wigwam. Finally, the large number of the pre-historic or proto-historic "Castellieri," which may amount to a score in the small territory of Albona, is adverse to the existence of a troglodytic race.

NOVEMBER 27TH, 1877.

Mr. JOHN EVANS, D.C.L., F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The election of the following gentlemen as ordinary members was announced—Professor Flower, F.R.S.; Count General

* There are exceptions, for instance at Grand Canary, and other places which readily suggest themselves.

Menabrea, Italian Ambassador in London; M. Elie Reclus; Rev. Edgell Wyatt Edgell; M. G. Bertin.

The following presents to the Library were announced, and thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors for the same.

FOR THE LIBRARY.

- From the Berlin Anthropological Society.—*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.* No. 4, 1877.
- From the ASSOCIATION.—*Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland.* Vol. IV, No. 30.
- From the SOCIETY.—*Bulletin de la Société Impériale des Naturalistes de Moscow.* No. 2, 1877.
- From the INSTITUTION.—*Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall.* No. XIX, 1877.
- From the SOCIETY.—*Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland.* Vol. IV, Pt. 4.
- From the Royal Academy of Vienna.—*Sitzungsberichte philos.-histor. Classe* 82. Band, Heft 3; 83. Band, Heft 1-4; *Classe math.-naturw.*, 1876, I Abtheil., Nos. 1-7; ditto II, Nos. 4-7; ditto III, Nos. 1-5.
- From the INDIA OFFICE.—*Statistics, Agriculture and Commerce; Census of the Bombay Presidency,* 1872.
- From the EDITOR.—*Revue Scientifique*, Nos. 20 and 21, 1877.
- From the EDITOR.—*Nature* to date.

Major-General A. Lane Fox, F.R.S., exhibited various objects from Istria and Scinde.

The President read a communication from M. Lubavsky, on the Civilising results of Russian Conquests.

The following paper was then read by the Director, in the absence of the author.

NOTES ON SOCOTRA. By Captain F. M. HUNTER, R.N.

WELLSTED's description of Socotra is very accurate as far as it goes. The appearance of the plateaux between the north and south of the island from Jebel Hagair to Ras Katāin is very peculiar. The whole surface is composed of an extraordinary soft limestone, which seems to be in slabs; a curious effect is produced by these being here and there cracked and forced up into irregular piles; in other places the surface has been worn and eaten into by rain, until it is perfectly honeycombed; some parts are free of stone, and are covered with a rich red soil; everywhere vegetation exists, and where the slabs are more

broken, it is luxurious; *metahin mithra*, a bush resembling laurel; *ameeroo*, *lakaham*, and a sort of *babool* are the chief trees and shrubs; dragon's-blood trees are numerous, as also are aloes.

On the western plateaux of Schiebaham and Doftai, down to Ras Rakoof on the range of Jebel Tsobrabi, there are numerous lumps of limestone, smooth and round, about a foot or so in diameter, the action of rain, or rather water, collecting in cavities in the topside of these, has gradually hollowed them out into large stone bowls, the edges of which are rounded off with such regularity as to suggest human agency.

The map prepared by Wellsted is not a very satisfactory guide in rambling about the island, the altitudes are not in accordance with those exhibited by an aneroid barometer, the difference being in some cases nearly 1,000 feet; again, the valleys intersecting the plateaux are not shown, and many hills of upwards of 500 feet in elevation are entirely omitted; the slopes are not graduated, and an attempt to follow the routes indicated, would occupy very much more time than an inspection of the distances as laid down would lead one to expect.

Of the portion visited, the very extensive valley between Tidhau Maala and Tidhau Mataala on the west, and the Shiebaham range on the north and west, appears eminently adapted for cultivation. The extent of this plain cannot be less than 100 square miles, and it receives the drainage of all the hills which surround it on every side. The outlet is through a narrow gorge on the north-west side, whence the flood passes into another though smaller valley containing perhaps 20 to 25 square miles of cultivatable area; thence the torrent rushes through a gorge about a quarter of a mile towards the sea, into which it pours close to Khor Ogahim. It is said this stream runs down for about a mile from the outlet in a body of water about 20 feet deep, carrying everything before it. It is augmented in the lesser valley by the drainage of all the westerly hills which skirt the valley running out to Ras Shaab. The soil of both these valleys is apparently a red loam, and even after a very dry season they are the only part of the western portion of the island where good pasture is to be found. They are covered with a sort of stiff long grass, that grows in bunches and the whole plain or valley is sprinkled with bushes, almost all of which afford pasture for camels.

The climate during April is exceedingly warm in the plains, although the thermometer only ranged from 78 to 88 degrees at sea level. On the higher parts of the island the nights and mornings are cool and occasionally cold, and an exceedingly heavy dew begins to fall after sundown. The heat of the sun

during the day is very oppressive ; there is little or no breeze, and the rocky surface absorbs and emits great heat.

The flora is not so varied in appearance as would be supposed ; some trees and shrubs repeat themselves so frequently as to weary the eye. On the northern slopes of the hills, *metahin*, dragon's-blood trees, and a sort of *babool* are very prevalent. On the southern slopes and on the plateaux, besides the above-mentioned, *adenium obesum*, a kind of milk bush, and the shrub resembling laurel, are obtrusively apparent. On the southern side of the island, *adenium obesum*, *mithra*, and a few so-called laurel shrubs are all that grow ; and the weaker bushes are bent over by the violence of the south-west Monsoon winds.

In the centre of the table-land *ameroo* and *lakahim* trees abound. It is said the dragon's-blood tree is found of two species, or, as the natives say, of two sexes ; but as there does not seem to be any such operation necessary to fecundate, as is the case with the date palm, it would be more proper to say that there are two species, one barren, and the other producing a berry from which no doubt seed is disseminated. Observing very closely, all young trees appeared to belong to the so-called female or fruitful description, and it is not until a certain age is reached that it becomes apparent into which species the tree will eventually develop. Wellsted has well described both trees, but he does not notice the last-mentioned peculiarity. The radical difference between the two species is the presence or absence of the short stumpy branches from which the umbel of spiky leaves springs, and the greater length of the latter in the fruit-bearing kind. The branches, never more than a foot long, develop and throw out fresh branches, so that a very old tree has the appearance of an umbrella or mushroom. The tree is occasionally incised, and a portion of the bark scraped off about 2 inches square. This space fills with gum in a fortnight or three weeks, which is collected in the end of April. The gum sometimes exudes of its own accord from cracks and fissures in the bark.

The *amuroo* is a coarse description of frankincense tree, it has the same curly indented leaf, but of a much larger size, the trunk is also thicker than the Luban tree, and the foliage is even more scanty ; the leaves are frequently of a brick-red colour. The bark is very thick, and is of a pinkish-brown hue where the outer green covering has peeled off ; this last is always hanging about in strips, giving the tree the appearance of being in tatters. The bark is used by the natives to make buckets for holding water ; by what process it is joined, shaped, and made water-tight, there was not time to discover. The fruit is a berry about the size of a marble, and the gum exudes freely

when the bark is incised. It has a strong aromatic smell and taste, is of a clear white transparent colour, and might no doubt be found commercially valuable were it collected and exported.

Lakahim is another tree which yields an aromatic gum. At a distance it somewhat resembles *amuroo*, except that the leaves are smaller and not curly, and the berry is different.

The aloe of Socotra needs no discription. The collection of the juice is entirely in the hands of the Sultan, who assesses each landowner in a fixed quantity per annum. Great carelessness is frequently practised in expressing the juice, and many impurities are mixed with it by the Bedouins to increase the weight; but the Sultan has a novel way of punishing this attempt at fraud when discovered, by pouring the contents of the skin of impure aloes over the head of the culprit. Judging from the appearance of the hands of the persons employed in working the plant, this must have an uncomfortable effect on the skin.

The Island of Socotra is divided into lots, and there is great jealousy as to boundaries, which are carefully marked. An average assessment of about four keilas of ghee is exacted from each male adult per annum. The collection of this rent in kind is attended with so many difficulties, that perhaps one-half of the Bedouins do not pay regularly.

The herds of sheep and cattle are not nearly so numerous as might be expected from previous accounts, at least in that portion visited, but it is possible that the flocks actually observed, were not fairly representative as regards the actual numbers of sheep and cattle on the island.

The value of the ghee received by the Sultan yearly by payments in kind, is estimated at five hundred dollars; aloes bring him in two hundred and fifty dollars, and dragon's-blood eighty dollars; dues on the mother-of-pearl fishery, etc., make his total income up to about a thousand dollars per annum. The dragon's-blood trees on one tract of land are the exclusive property of the Sultan, the remainder of the trees are in the hands of the Bedouins, who lease the several tracts.

The Bedouins of the interior are divided into numerous families, but there are only a few principal tribes. Unfortunately time did not allow, or opportunity serve, for a complete investigation into the various "fakhidahs" as they are called, but one tribe who occupy the western portion of the island claim to be descendants of the Portuguese. They are called "Kisshim," and are tall, finely made, thin lipped, straight-featured, pleasant looking men. The women are very like gypsies, and are not darker than Goanese, whom they much resemble. It must be remembered that the Portuguese probably intermarried with the Arabs and aborigines, and it is hardly fair to

draw conclusious from the appearance of descendants after five or six generations, especially as there does not seem to have been any attempt to preserve purity of descent by marrying only descendants of the same stock.

The "Momi" who reside in the eastern portion of the island are said to be the result of intermarriage between the aborigines and Abyssinians. Certainly some Bedouins that were observed resembled Gallas in every way.

The "Camabar," who occupy Hajair and the higher ranges above Tamarida, are supposed to be the result of marriages between the aborigines and the Mahri Arabs. Very many of the latter take wives from among the Bedouins, the women being nothing loth to become the inmates of harems, where they can lead a life of comparative idleness and luxury, in place of wandering about in the heat of the day with the flocks, returning at night only to have to toil afresh in milking the goats and cows, churning butter, and cooking for their lazy male relatives.

The Bedouin women of Hajan, wear the usual Arab long blue chemise, confined at the waist by a belt as described by Wellsted, but those to the westward improvise a petticoat from the coarse blanket they themselves weave. On the upper part of the body a loose jumper, with short sleeves, is worn, which has a hole for the head to pass through.

The hands and feet of the women are large, the legs are very stout and thick in the ankle, even among the younger females. No extraordinary abnormal development of the posteriors was noticed, such a Wellsted describes. The women wear their hair in two long plaits, to lengthen which, frizettes of goat's hair are used, and the ends are joined together, the braids hanging down the back in a loop. The hair over the forehead is cut short, leaving a fringe about an inch long across the brow, very much like the present fashion in England. The only ornaments worn are the common Arab ear-ring and armlet. Sometimes a necklace composed of glass beads, bits of amber, agate, dragon's-blood, &c., with rupees as pendants at intervals, is hung round the neck. While herding the flocks, every woman carries in her hand a spindle, spinning as she goes along sheep and goat's hair into coarse thread, eventually to be woven into blankets with the simplest of hand looms. The very young children are carried in a blanket or cloth slung over the mother's back, while those just able to walk are hoisted on their father's or mother's shoulders, sitting three with the legs dangling in front, the balance being preserved by a firm hold of the parental head. The few children seen appeared very scrofulous.

The teeth of both sexes are kept beautifully clean by a tooth-stick of a kind of wood which tastes like licorice root.

The girls do not marry until they reach the age of seventeen or eighteen. The "malar" or dowry is usually ten dollars, and the "dafa," or preliminary present, consists of twenty goats.

The men, as already noticed, are well built. There is among the western tribes great diversity of feature, but no African taint is yet visible. It was observed that nearly all the "Kiss him" had overhanging jaws and prominent teeth, the broad shoulders, lean flanks, and stout well-formed legs, seem to bear out their claim to descent from an European stock. They are also very much taller than any of the other races on the island. The "Kiss him" were delighted to welcome a "Feringe," whom they hailed as brother, and hastened to entertain with milk and goat's flesh; an invitation to dinner was declined reluctantly on the score of want of leisure. In no instance was more clothing worn by the men than the ordinary Arab "maawiz," or kilt of American cloth; in the hand is carried a few yards of sheeting or a blanket, which is cast over the shoulders to protect them from the fierce heat of the noonday sun. Nothing is ever worn on the head. The hair in the "Kiss him" is generally straight, though sometimes wavy, but never crisp and curly as is the case with the "Momi," and some of the "Camabar."

Although the Bedouins of Socotra take advantage of the many natural caverns which are found all over the island, yet they are not always troglodites.

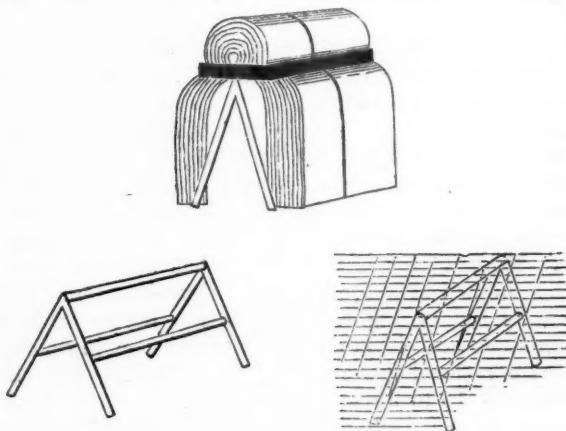
The houses, however, are of the rudest description, being built of rubble walls, with a flat roof of earth, which is supported on rafters and branches of trees. In almost every instance where a habitation is found, there is also a large circular erection of similar construction for the protection of the sheep and goats in wet weather. Each of these covered folds has also an open court-yard with high walls, topped with branches, in which the flocks are placed at night. The portion roofed in is usually nearly circular, and is perhaps 30 to 40 feet in diameter, the open court is rather larger; the human dwellings are the same shape, but only 15 to 20 feet in diameter.

The food of the Bedouins consists chiefly of milk and the flesh of goats or sheep, varied by dates, rice, and bjri when attainable. A kind of land snail, which is found at the roots of trees, is baked and eaten. There are two distinct species of these snails, each of which is of three different sizes. The smallest size, of the elongated spiral shelled species, climb trees, and branches are occasionally covered with them so as to leave hardly any space bare. This does not appear to have the immediate effect of killing the tree.

Religion seems to set slightly on the Bedouin, he only prays when he has an audience, and even in the very act of prostration he will turn round, join in the conversation, and again continue his devotions, until the requisite outward observances have been completed.

Circumcision is not universally practised, and each little community has its own place for performing the rite, as in some parts of Arabia. This ceremony seems to be the occasion of the only festival of any note amongst Bedouins, who then feast and dance. Unfortunately, no opportunity occurred of ascertaining the description of dance practised. It was observed that the mark of the cross is still used on the headstones of graves. Several rude crucifixes and upright tombstones were noticed.

The camels of the island are well worthy of mention for their agility and surefootedness, in which they rather resemble mules than the ordinary "ship of the desert." In appearance they are in no way peculiar, except perhaps that the neck is heavier than is the case with the ordinary camel of burden in Africa and Arabia. The saddle is simple, and well suited to the country. It consists of two inverted V's of wood joined at the top and middle as in the sketch; this frame only covers the hump,



not being much more than a foot long or high. Behind and over this are placed a succession of thick rugs, like blankets, of gunny, to the number of seven or eight, lying one over another backwards and forwards, for each blanket is only three-fourths of the length of the saddle. These rugs are then forced up by a rope being passed round about a foot from the top as in the sketch. Across the saddle two long mat bag panniers are slung

by two transverse sticks attached to the panniers. Each bag is capable of containing about three one dozen claret cases, and a Socotrine camel can easily carry three or four hundred pounds weight over any ground.

Upon the range which runs along the southern coast, and about 14 or 15 miles east of Ras Kattani, there stands the ruins of a very extensive Portuguese fort. It consisted apparently of a main building with outworks, and had square towers at three of its angles. Round it are the remains of what must have been a settlement of perhaps one hundred houses, as also of a large tank, which can hold a considerable quantity of water when full. Ruins of houses are to be found at and near Ferigho at the head of the valley which runs down from Hagair Adiha to the south coast. Standing on the latter ridge, the sea is visible on both sides of the island. In the bed of the stream is a fine piece of water which has evidently been deepened and retained by artificial means. Wellsted states that similar remains exist on Jebel Rummel south-east from Tamarida.

The inscriptions mentioned by that traveller could not be discovered, but the hieroglyphics were seen and copied. They are cut on the surface of an extensive flat layer of rock (apparently limestone), which crops up about a quarter of a mile from the seashore, two miles east of Ogahim on the road to Tamarida. The surface on which the marks are cut is about 50 yards long, and 25 or 30 broad. No two figures are in line with one another, so as to give the idea of a continued sentence; they lie at all angles, some distant from the next nearest 20 or 30 feet. It must be left to others to decypher or attach a date to these hieroglyphics, as well as to discover their authors. They in no way resemble the inscription at Hisu Ghorah, which had been visited only two or three days previously, and which continues in a good state of preservation. It were perhaps frivolous to remark that the impression left on the mind after seeing the marks on the beach as Socotra, was that someone had stood with bare feet together and drawn a line round them. The figures of human feet in this position being very numerous, and constituting perhaps three-fourths of the total marks on the rock.

The route followed on the occasion of the visit to the island when the above notes were collected, can easily be traced on Wellsted's map. Landing at Tamainda, the first day's march was to Hajair Adiha, 3,200 feet above the level of the sea, on the ridge which connects the Hajair range. Thence the hills were descended to Ferigho in the valley, which Wellsted shows as lying between Killiem and Scrakou. From Ferigho, after following the valley for a few miles, the track turned off to the

westward over Kelliem down into the next valley, which was ascended a few miles ; when again a turn was made to the westward over Daftai, into a sort of devil's punch-bowl. After leaving the latter, the plateau Schiebahane was ascended, and finally a halt was made for a day near the head of the pass south-west of Raggian. The height of this pass, by the way, is nearer 3,200 feet than 1,500 as shown in Wellsted's map. From hence a short trip was made across the island in a south-westerly direction, to near Ras Kattain, and again northwards across the large valley into the smaller, which finally debouches at Khor Ogahein, or as Wellsted calls it, Haggien.

A collection of a few words of the language peculiar to the island was made ; but the results are so poor as to be hardly worth recording, and it must be reserved for a future occasion to investigate the interesting problem of the origin of the Socotrine dialect. It will suffice to notice one peculiarity in pronunciation which a foreigner strives in vain to overcome ; many words commence with a sort of combination of s, h and l, and have a peculiar sibilant twang as if they were being spat out ; thus, "Shlhang," milk, is pronounced as if spoken by a person with a hare lip, very many words seem to be uttered as if the mouth were full.

In the discussion on the above, Major-Gen. A Lane Fox, and Mr. Hyde Clarke took part.

The Director then read the following papers in the absence of the authors.

NOTES ON THE ZAPAROS. By ALFRED SIMPSON, Esq.

In consequence of the author's absence from England, the publication of this paper is postponed till the next number of the *Journal*.

***On some* CHARACTERISTICS of the MALAYO-POLYNESIANS.** By REV. S. J. WHITMEE, F.R.G.S., C.M.Z.S.

THERE are, I believe, many indications that the brown Polynesians have descended from a higher intellectual and social level than that they at present occupy. In this paper I intend to notice a few of these, especially such as occur among the natives of Samoa.

1. The comparatively high social position occupied by

women is one of these. It is something very much above the lowest savagery, in which woman is simply the slave and tool of man. Among the black Polynesians (Negrito-Polynesians), as among other savages, her position is worse than that of the dog, whose food—the leavings of the lords of creation—she shares. But among the brown race, throughout the whole of Polynesia, woman maintains a position of importance, perhaps only a little inferior to the relative position held by our "better-halves" in our own homes.

Some time ago, I read an account of a visit made to the New Hebrides by a gentleman who was, apparently, unacquainted with the fact that women hold such different positions in the two races. In those islands, there are two or three colonies of brown Polynesians, who, although they are surrounded by the blacks, keep themselves to a great extent free from mixture with them. This gentleman visited one of the brown Polynesian colonies, and was at once struck with the strange difference between the women of the colony, and those of the other islands. This is one of the most constant distinctions between the two races.

The same rule is found to hold good on the south-eastern portion of New Guinea. On that island, where the black race is found, woman occupies a low position. On the other hand, where the brown race exists, she occupies a position nearly equal to that of man. This is likewise true of Madagascar, the Hova population of which island appears to have affinities with the brown Polynesians.

Among these Polynesians (as also among the Malagasy) women may hold the highest position, and they inherit titles just as men do. In fact, rank is more often communicated by the mother than by the father. The son of a lady of rank will always take rank with his mother, even if his father be of no rank. But the son of a man of rank is not necessarily entitled to rank unless his mother be a chieftainess.

I am aware that this fact of rank being transmitted on the mother's side in preference to the father's, usually indicates a low state of morals, but it is also an indication of the superior position held by women.

2. The existence of hereditary ranks and titles among the brown Polynesians, appears to me to indicate a former condition higher than what is usually understood as a savage state.

Among them we find nearly as many ranks and grades as are found in our most civilised countries. Rank is hereditary; a long and good pedigree is of as much importance in Polynesia as in any part of the world. In some islands, although there is no Heralds' College, there is something which answers the same purpose. A special study is made of pedigree. In disputes

about ranks and titles, which are of not infrequent occurrence, the old men who are specially up in questions of this kind, and who are looked to as the keepers of the heraldic records, will trace the pedigree of a family backward through all its ramifications, from generation to generation, until they come to the bluest of the blue-blood in some ancestor of the heroic age.

The aspiring scion of an upstart family, which has been ennobled for only a few generations, is scornfully looked down upon, and "snubbed" by the representative of what we may, for convenience, call, one of the old Norman families. Although he may be able to trace his pedigree to a real hero, he may be told, at a public gathering of the people, by a rival chief, that his family is but of yesterday.

One cause of a recent dispute about the title to royalty in Samoa, is a thing of this kind. The most popular and most powerful family, which claims a right to provide a king for the islands, is of comparatively recent origin. The founder of this family obtained his title during one of the wars between the Tongans and the Samoans, of which the traditions of the latter people are full. The story may be worth giving. It is as follows. The Tongan people, under the leadership of their king, invaded Samoa, and overran the island of Upolu. This man determined to drive away the invading force. He defeated the Tongans, and drove them the entire length of the island. The defeated king was much impressed with the bravery, and also with the magnanimity of his opponent, for he had scorned to slay or in any way injure the women who accompanied the invading force. Before leaving the island, the king sought a truce and made friends with the warrior. They met; and the defeated king greeted his conqueror with these words: "Malietoa! Malietau!" which mean, enough of bravery! enough of war! From that time the first exclamation—enough of bravery—was adopted as the title of nobility for the brave warrior. It is the Malietoa of the present day who is the popular candidate for the kingship.

3. The tenure of landed and other property; the systematic division of all the land, even to the tops of the mountains, among the people; and the hereditary transmission of such property from generation to generation, all seem to me to point to something far above mere savagery. I have explored a good many of the mountains in the Samoan Islands, but I never found a peak, or a valley, a mountain torrent, a water-fall, or even a remarkable rock, which had not a specific name. Many of the most remarkable places and objects have interesting myths connected with them, which point back to the distant past of, what I say call, their heroic age.

4. The traditional and mythological poetry of the Malayo-Polynesians also indicates some intellectual elevation in former times. It appears certain that the former intellectual status of the people was much superior to the present. Some of their myths and poems have a considerable amount of beauty in them.

The keeping of these myths intact has always been considered a matter of very great importance by the people in past times. But the diligence of the keepers of these records has, in a great measure, died out in the islands where Christianity has been long introduced. The old men retained their knowledge of them; but a younger generation, growing up with many new ideas of new things to occupy their attention, have, almost as a matter of course, neglected to learn and retain these traditional songs and myths of their country. It is the old story of new things displacing the old, which we constantly find wherever we go.

It is doubtful whether it would be possible, under the new conditions obtaining in the islands, for the present generation to retain all their old myths with the verbal accuracy with which they have been retained in the past. The mere labour of fixing them in the memory could scarcely be gone through by the present generation. The possession of books, which they can read and refer to at all times when they wish to refresh the memory, has made them unwilling to take the trouble of committing to memory these long stories and poems. The only way of securing them would have been by writing. But no native seems to have thought of this until it was suggested to some of them very recently. And the jealousy with which the choicest myths were guarded by their recognised keepers, presented a great obstacle in the way of committing them to paper.

These keepers usually belonged to a few families, and it was their duty to retain intact, and transmit from generation to generation the myths and songs entrusted to their custody. The honour of the families was involved in it. It was the hereditary duty of the elder sons of these families to acquire, retain, and transmit them with verbal accuracy. And it was not only a sacred duty, but the right of holding such myths and songs was jealously guarded as a valuable and honourable privilege. Hence the difficulty of having them secured by writing. Care was taken not to recite them too frequently or too fully at one time. Sometimes they have been purposely altered in order to lead the hearers astray. Missionaries and other foreign residents who have manifested an interest in these myths, have often been deceived in this way. Only a person thoroughly familiar with the language, quite conversant with the habits of the people, and

who had their confidence, could secure a trustworthy version. And this was usually secured only after a promise made to the keepers of these treasures not to make it public in the islands.

But notwithstanding these difficulties, some missionaries and others have succeeded in making large collections of choice myths and songs, and I am not without hope that before very long we may succeed in collecting them together for the formation of a comparative mythology of Polynesia.

I have myself given little attention to this branch of study, having been fully occupied with other work. But for some time I have been trying to induce others, who have large stores of such treasure, to arrange and translate their material so as to make it available when the time arrives for utilising it. I have also tried to induce the most intelligent of the natives in Samoa and some other islands, to commit to writing all they can possibly obtain. In this way I have already secured some material from Samoa, the Tokelau, Ellice, and Gilbert Islands.

I have recently learnt with great pleasure that Mr. Trübner is about to publish an important work on Polynesian Archaeology* founded on legends, chants, &c., which have been collected in the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. From the preface to this work, a proof of which (by the courtesy of Mr. Trübner) I have read, I gather that it will be a valuable contribution to the subject on which it treats; although probably some of the author's theories founded on his material, may not meet with universal acceptance from students of Polynesian archaeology.

Being specially interested in the languages of Polynesia, I regard with great interest, the collection and publication of the ancient myths, and songs of the people, on account of the light they throw on the changes which the various dialects have undergone. Most of these legends and songs contain archaic forms, both idioms and words, unknown to most of the present generation of the people. Hence they furnish the ethnologist and philologist with earlier and more valuable material for tracing the affinities of the Polynesian dialects with other languages than anything which can be obtained from a study of these dialects as at present spoken.

The way in which verbal accuracy in the transmission of the legends and songs has been secured is worth mentioning. In some islands all the principal stories, indeed all which are of value, exist in two forms, in *prose* and in *poetry*. The prose form gives the story in simple language. The poetic gives it

* The title of this work has since been changed to "An Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migrations, and the Ancient History of the Hawaiian People." By A. Fornander.

in rhythm, and usually in rhyme also. The poetic form is used as a check on the more simple and more easily changed prose form. As it is easy to alter and add to the prose account, that is never regarded as being genuine, unless each particular has its poetic tally. An omission or interpolation in the poetic form would, of course, be easily detected. Thus the people have recognised the fact that a poetic form is more easily remembered than a prose form, and that it is better adapted for securing the strict accuracy of historical myths. May not this have been what gave origin to poetry in all parts of the world?

I conclude this short and imperfect paper with a few verses from the commencement of a Samoan song of great antiquity on the creation of land out of the waste of water.

Original.

- 1 Galu lolo ; ma galu fātio'o ;
- 2 Galu tau, ma galu fefatia'i ;
- 3 O le auau peau ma le sologā ;
- 4 Na ona faafua, a e le fati peau.
- 5 Peau taoto ; peau taalolo ;
- 6 Peau mālie ; peau lagatonu ;
- 7 Peau a lili'a ; peau la'aia ;
- 8 Peau fatia ; peau taulia ;
- 9 Peau tautala ; peau lagava'a ;
- 10 Peau tagata ; peau a Sisifo mai Gagae ;
- 11 O lona soa le auau tata'a.
- 12 E mapu i lagi tulī* mai vasa.
- 13 Tangaloa fia mālōlō,
- 14 Tā hilia i peau a lalō.
- 15 Fea le nuu na mua'i tupu,
- 16 Tangaloa e taumuli ai ?
- 17 Manu'a-tele na mua'i tupu.

Translation.

- 1 Rollers flooding ; rollers dashing ;
- 2 Rollers fighting ; rollers clashing ;
- 3 The current of waves sliding along,
- 4 Surging high, but breaking not.
- 5 Waves reclining ; waves uniting ;
- 6 Waves agreeable ; waves gentle ;
- 7 Waves affrighted ; waves overleaping ;
- 8 Waves breaking ; waves warring ;
- 9 Waves roaring ; waves storming ;
- 10 Waves human ; eastern waves marching west.
- 11 His attendant the wandering current.
- 12 Rests in heaven the plover from ocean.

* The tulī is the bird, *Charadrius fulvus* Gml., which is known as Tangalon's plover, tulī a Tangaloa.

- 13 O Tangaloa *! I fain would rest,
- 14 These lower waves affright my breast.
- 15 Where is the land which first sprang up,
- 16 Where Tangaloa holds the helm?
- 17 Manu'a-tele† first sprang up.

In the discussion of the above, Major-General A. Lane Fox, and Mr. Hyde Clarke took part.

* Tangaloa, the great Polynesian deity.

† Manu'a, the eastern islands of Samos, mentioned in many Polynesian legends.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MISCELLANEA.

THE following notice of the life and labours of the late Dr. Campbell, will doubtless be of interest to the Institute, of the Council of which he was so distinguished a member.

Dr. Archibald Campbell, late Surgeon-Major in the Indian Army, was the son of Archibald Campbell, Esq., of Ardover, in the Island of Islay, North Britain, where he was born on the 20th April, 1805. He studied in Glasgow University, then Edinburgh University, from 1824 to 1827, where he graduated, M.D. He was appointed an Assistant Surgeon in the Honourable Company's Service in 1827; and in June, 1828, joined the horse artillery at Meerut, then a strong corps of six troops of Europeans and natives, with a large establishment of native followers attached. With this distinguished corps he served four years, during which he suffered much in health from exposure to the climate, in hospital and out-door duties. During his service with the horse artillery, he was twice appointed to do duty at the European Convalescent Depôt, then recently established at Landour, in the Western Himalaya, and here the exposure out of doors to the climate in the rainy season, and in damp newly-constructed barracks and hospital, seriously affected his health.

From the horse artillery he was appointed in 1832 to be surgeon at Katmandoo in Nipal. Here he had the good fortune to serve on the staff of the British Resident, Mr. B. H. Hodgson, whose influence, interest, and example, greatly contributed to determine his future career, both as an officer under Government, and a zealous collector of information on many subjects connected with the Himalayan people and productions, etc. Mr. Hodgson was at that time actively engaged upon those inquiries into the literature, history, language, and customs of the Cis- and Trans-Himalayan races, and into the geology of Nipal and Thibet, which have placed him in the foremost rank of oriental scholars and naturalists. Campbell did not fail to profit by the brilliant example set before him, nor did he neglect his duties for these pursuits; on the contrary, he so rapidly gained the confidence of his superiors, that within a little more than a year, namely, 1833, on the recommendation of his chief, he was appointed Assistant Resident, which he retained during the remainder of his sojourn in that country.

Of the zeal, ability, and assiduity with which his political duties

were performed, the following official communications, addressed by his able and accomplished superior to the Political Secretary to the Government of India, bear ample and generous testimony from B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Resident to the Government of India.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to forward to you, herewith, the required narrative of our political relations with this Durbar, drawn up by Dr. Campbell, who commenced it at the time he officiated as my assistant, and whom I permitted to complete it, in mere justice to a zeal and merit which seemed to me deserving of that encouragement.

"I trust that his Honor in Council will have the kindness to submit this performance to the favourable notice of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India; and I have no hesitation in saying, that it is extremely well executed, and calculated to reflect much light upon our existing unsatisfactory position in regard to Nipal."

(Signed)

"B. H. HODGSON."

Nor was the Government of India slow in responding to the encomium of Mr. Hodgson. Thus in 1833 the Secretary to the Government writes to Mr. Hodgson, under date April 6th, 1836.

"SIR,

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 18th of October last, with the enclosed narrative of our political relations with the Nipal Durbar, drawn up by Dr. Campbell, and to state in reply, that the manner in which this document has been prepared, is considered to reflect great credit on Dr. Campbell."

And again, under date April, 1836.

"SIR,

"I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 25th of July last, forwarding a memorandum by Dr. Campbell upon our relations with Nipal.

"2. In reply, I am directed to request that you will convey to Dr. Campbell the assurance of the approbation with which his Lordship in Council has viewed this additional proof of his industry and zeal."

In 1836, he was, on the recommendation of the Resident, employed to accompany a mission from Nipal to the Governor-General in Calcutta, the first demonstration of the kind ever made by the Goorkhas to the British Government. A service which he conducted to the entire satisfaction of his employers, who thus signified their approval; a reply (dated September, 1837) to the official account of a mission and the causes which led to it. Transmitted by the Resident.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 8th instant, submitting memorandum by Dr. Campbell, on the causes and motives of the recent mission from Nipal to Calcutta, with your remarks.

"2. In reply, I am desired to acquaint you that the account furnished by Dr. Campbell has been perused with much attention by his Lordship in Council, and that he considers the compilation as being highly creditable to that gentleman.

"It will be printed in a continuation of the brief notice of Nipal, in the tract compiled by Major Sutherland."

In 1837, the severe illness of the Resident compelled him to apply for leave of absence on medical certificate, on which occasion he recommended that Dr. Campbell should be charged with the whole affairs of the Residency; this was at a critical time, when Bhim Sen Thappa, who had been Prime Minister for upwards of twenty years, was deposed by the "Pandes," his rivals and inveterate hereditary foes.

The Resident's recommendation of Dr. Campbell was couched in the following terms:—

"The vital importance to me of having the advantage of the whole cold season below, induces me to hope that the R. H. the G. G. will be pleased to sanction, as a temporary arrangement, my making over charge to my Assistant, Dr. Campbell, a gentleman whose personal qualities and local knowledge and experience, give me all reasonable assurance, that he could (if such were the pleasure of the Governor-General), ably supply my place here, even at the present critical season, and so far diminish my vexation at this untimely compulsory departure."

This was at the outbreak of the Affghan war, the most critical period that India has passed through in our days, not excepting that of the Mutiny. The urgency of this emergency called Mr. Hodgson back at the risk of his life, and the marvellous success of his measures for restraining the Nipalese from taking part against the British, whether by intrigues with the Sikhs, etc., or by open warfare, are now matters of history.

During the period of Dr. Campbell's residence in Nipal, he applied himself in acquiring a knowledge of the Ghorka language, and to collecting valuable information, especially respecting the arts, manufactures, and agricultural industry of the Nipalese. These, which were embodied in various Reports and Papers, which were subsequently published, were in the first instance communicated to the Resident, who forwarded them to the Government of India, with high encomiums on their author, which was heartily endorsed by the Governor. Thus in August, 1836, the Governor-General sends the following communication to the Resident:—

"SIR,

"I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of

India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 30th ultimo, submitting notes by your Assistant, Dr. Campbell, on the state of the arts in Nipal.

"2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you for the information of Dr. Campbell, that his Lordship in Council has derived much gratification from this additional instance of that gentleman's zeal and ability, in collecting information of a useful and interesting nature."

And again, in February, 1837, he writes to the Resident :—

"SIR,

"I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 8th instant, transmitting copy of a memorandum drawn up by Dr. Campbell, relative to the Agriculture of Nipal proper, which is considered to be very creditable to that officer's zeal and ability.

"I am directed at the same time to acquaint you that a copy of the memorandum in question will be forwarded for the information of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of this Presidency."

In 1838, the Secretary to the Government writes in a despatch to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company :—

"We have read with much interest the papers which have been prepared by Dr. Campbell, on the 'Agriculture of Nipal,' on the 'Connection and transactions between the British Indian Government and Nipal from 1793 to 1812,' and on the 'Mission from the Goorkha Durbar to the Governor-General of India at Calcutta, in 1835 and 1836,' with the accompanying remarks by the Resident, and we are of opinion that they do much credit to the talent and research of these gentlemen."

No one expressed a greater interest in, and value for, Dr. Campbell's labours than the late Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, who in 1837, thus addressed him through his Private Secretary :—

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, and in reply to convey to you his Lordship's best thanks for the copies therewith forwarded of your very interesting and valuable papers on the agriculture, arts, and meteorology of Nipal."

Now were his medical services less useful, whether in a purely professional point of view, or as tending to render the Embassy more beneficial to the natives of Nipal. To this again the Resident bears high testimony, further in a letter addressed to Dr. Campbell; and then in a despatch forwarded to the Government of India; these letters are as follows :—

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your public letter of this day, stating the progress made within the last four years in conquering Nipalese prejudices, by means of medical skill and kindness; and to acquaint you in reply, that I consider this

progress, although partly of course, attributable to the general course of events, yet partly also, to your personal merit, which I have very great pleasure in thus publicly acknowledging."

"SIR,

"I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 11th ultimo, transmitting copy of correspondence with Dr. Campbell, stating the progress made within the last five years in conquering Nipalese prejudices by means of medical skill and kindness; and in reply to observe that the facts therein stated are in a high degree honourable to the character of that intelligent and zealous Officer."

In 1839, Dr. Campbell was selected by the Governor-General (in consideration of his intimate knowledge of the character and feelings of the Nipalese officers, and the confidence of the Durbar produced thereby), to accompany the Nipalese Commissioners, to investigate a boundary dispute with "Sikim," which for five years our Government had not been able to decide satisfactorily. The result was a settlement of the dispute; on which he received the approbation of Government, conveyed in the following letter to the Resident from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated April, 1836 :—

"SIR,

"I am desired by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you of the dates and on the subjects noted in the margin."

"*4th April, 1836.*

"Forwarding copy of a correspondence with Dr. Campbell on the subject of his claim to draw deputation allowance up to the day the presents of the Governor-General were delivered to the Rajah.

"2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council, has learnt with much pleasure the satisfactory termination of the Embassy from Nipal, a result which is mainly attributable to the judgment and address displayed by Dr. Campbell in the conduct of the delicate and difficult duties confided to him."

"*5th April, 1836.*

"Reporting your having been invited to witness the delivery of the presents from the Governor-General to the Maharajah, which were much admired."

The successful accomplishment of this mission, no doubt materially contributed to his being chosen in the year following, for the important duty of superintending the settlement in Sikim, and consequently the political communications between the Government of India and Rajah of Sikim.

British Sikim was at that time a small and powerless State, interposed between Nipal and Bhotan, which was coveted by the

former warlike people, but protected by Great Britain against them. The importance of this post may be imagined, when it is considered, that were it once given up, the Nipalese would take not it only, but the whole Himalaya extending to the extremity of upper Assam, and thus secure to this bellicose race an almost impregnable position of many hundreds of miles in extent, from which they would have threatened all Bengal and Assam whenever so disposed.

In 1840, Dr. Campbell took charge of the new settlement of Darjeeling, and of our political relations with Sikkim. This was indeed a most difficult and anxious charge, for the performance of the duties of which we must refer to a report on Darjeeling by Mr. Welby Jackson, Special Commissioner, which was published by the Bengal Government in 1855. It sets forth truly many of the obstructions he had to contend with; and which he signally conquered. It is also highly favourable to his administration of all the various departments of his office, and for which he was warmly commended by the Board of Revenue, and the Government of Bengal. In addition to his official duties while at Darjeeling, he made several important contributions to our knowledge on the statistics, geography, agriculture, tribes, etc., of Sikkim and Nipal, a catalogue of which will be found at the end of this notice. Of the estimation in which his labours as Superintendent were held by the Government of India, the following official despatches afford abundant proof. The first is from the Secretary to the Government, dated Calcutta, March, 1842, and refers to a dispute between the contiguous States of Bhotan and Liktinsan.

“SIR,

“The manner in which you have conducted the duties of your present deputation to the Bhotan frontier, is considered by the Governor-General in Council to be highly creditable to you; and his Lordship in Council has marked with much pleasure and approbation the judgment and ability with which your proceedings have been conducted.”

The next is from a letter addressed by the Board of Revenue to the Government of Bengal, and is dated Calcutta, July, 1837; it runs thus:—

“The perusal of Dr. Campbell’s report has impressed the Board with a very high opinion of him. He is evidently zealous, active, and deeply interested in the prosperity of the Province and its people; and he brings to bear upon these active talents a sound and discriminating judgment. Dr. Campbell deserves the thanks of the Board and of the Government for his successful management. It is a fortunate circumstance for the new territory, they observe, that it was placed under so able an Officer.”

And this was followed by a despatch from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in the following words:—

“The Deputy-Governor entirely agrees with the Board in the high opinion of Dr. Campbell, which the perusal of this report has

led them to form ; and he begs that an expression of his sentiments on this subject may be communicated to that Officer.

In 1849 Dr. Campbell having proceeded into Sikim for the purpose of bringing about a better state of affairs between the British Government and that State, than could be effected from Darjeeling, found that the Rajah and his advisers were so barbarous and ignorant, as to believe that if the representative of the Government could be put under restraint, they could not fail to extort favourable concessions from him, and the abandonment of all the just and pressing demands which the British Government had made upon him.

In pursuance of this project, which was in accordance with custom in the intercourse of Thibetan States, he was seized, bound, treated with brutal violence, and called upon, at the risk of his life, to put his signature to whatever might be dictated to him. Although this failed to produce the expected result, he was detained in durance for six weeks, with his companion, Dr. Hooker, from which he suffered greatly.

After his release, the Rajah failed to deliver up the persons who committed this outrage. The most valuable portion of his territory was consequently annexed, and the civil charge of it made over to Dr. Campbell, in addition to his previous duties; but without any addition to his pay or allowances. This new territory was an improving one, and at once yielded 40,000 rupees per annum, which was a clear gain to the Indian Government.

Although an increase to his allowances for increased labour and responsibility had been sought by him, and recommended by the Special Commissioner, it was most unjustly withheld.

In 1852, while engaged in making a new Revenue Settlement of the "Turai," or lowlands at the base of the hills, he contracted a severe fever; from the effects of which he did not fully recover till 1856, when another visit on duty to the same malarious district produced a fresh attack of fever, so severe and repeated, that he was compelled to quit India on leave of absence, having then completed more than twenty-nine years of continued service.

In 1856 Dr. Campbell visited England on sick leave, and resided at Richmond and Hastings with his wife and family, till April, 1857, when he returned to his duties at Darjeeling, and remained in harness till February, 1862, where he retired on his pension, having served for thirty-five years without increase of pay or allowances, or other recognition for such distinguished services than the hardly earned letters of commendation, which of themselves should have entitled him to some mark of the favour of his Government and the gratitude of his country. And what these services were was briefly summed up by Sir Joseph Hooker, K.C.B. (now President of the Royal Society), after two years' residence in Sikim, in the following papers extracted from his Himalayan travels. "Dr. Campbell raised British Sikim in ten years from its pristine condition of an impenetrable jungle, tenanted by half savage and mutually hostile races, never previously brought into contact with Europeans, to that

of a flourishing European Sanatoria and Hill Settlement, an inter-tribal mart of the first importance, and a rich agricultural province."

This was written nearly a quarter of a century ago, since which time Darjeeling has become a famous centre of tea and cinchona cultivation, and the favourite resort of invalids from Bengal.

Again, Dr. Hooker says, "referring to the time when Dr. Campbell was appointed to the charge of the station, 'Sikim' was the only part of the Himalayas east of Keuncrose, accessible to Europeans. It was inhabited by five peaceful native tribes, speaking different and utterly unknown languages, viz., 'Lepchas,' 'Moormis,' 'Tibetenese,' 'Limboos,' and 'Mechis,' and who were overrun and mercilessly harrassed by two aggressive races, the powerful Bhotanese and the warlike Nipalese, who spoke as many other languages. It was Lord Auckland's object to reconcile these heterogeneous elements, and make of Sikim a centre of British rule, and a commercial *entrepôt*, in which all should find justice, protection, and a mart for their produce or wares. To this end he selected Dr. Campbell, who determined therefore to make the fulfilment of these aims the one object of his Indian career. In two months he saw his way, and formed his plans, and the success of his efforts is vouched for by report of the Commissioner referred to at commencement of this document."

More emphatic, if possible, and of greater value, as being officially written and officially received by Government, is the following:—

Extract from a report to Government on the Civil Administration of the Darjeeling District, by Welby Jackson, Esq., Special Commissioner.

Para. 19, 20, 21, and 22.

Dated September 21st, 1853.

"Remarks.—In speaking of the administration of this district generally, before going into the detail of the various departments, it is necessary to observe that whatever has been done here has been done by Dr. Campbell alone. He found Darjeeling an inaccessible tract of forest, with a very scanty population; by his exertions an excellent Sanitarium has been established for troops and others; a Hill Corps has been established for the maintenance of order and improvement of communication; no less than seventy European houses have been built, with a bazaar, jail, and buildings for the accommodation of the sick in the Depôt; a revenue of 50,000 rupees has been raised, and is collected punctually and without balance: a simple system of administration of justice has been introduced, well adapted to the character of the tribes with whom he had to deal; the system of forced labour formerly in use has been abolished, and labour, with all other valuables, has been left to find its own price in an open market; roads have been made; experimental cultivation of tea and coffee has been introduced: and various European fruits and grapes; and this has been effected at the same time that the various tribes of inhabitants have been conciliated, and their habits and prejudices treated with a caution

and forbearance, which will render further progress in the same direction an easy task. The way has been shown, and those who succeed Dr. Campbell have only to follow it, as far as they are capable of doing so.

" 20. It is not only to the simple matters of administration, the results and objects of which are immediate and palpable, that Dr. Campbell has applied himself; he has exerted his abilities in the pursuit of science, and in exploring the routes, the ultimate object of which is less apparent to those who act under more limited views of direct and tangible utility. His journey to the confines of Tartary, at much personal risk, has extended our knowledge of the geography of the great Himalayan range, of its position and produce, and of the means of communication with the countries to the north of it. I may in short say of him, that to him is the Government indebted for the formation of the district of Darjeeling, for the revenue which is now derived from that district, and for the organisation of the whole system of management. The people, on the other hand, are indebted to him for the blessings of a just and paternal Government, under which they at this moment enjoy a degree of liberty, as well as of protection of property and person, unknown to them under their former masters; and they are fully sensible of this advantage.

" 21. It is to the personal character of the Superintendent that this success is due; and to the admirable temper, deliberation and forethought with which he has acted throughout; and this success would have been greater had he received more support, and more ample means of carrying out the sound views which he entertains of improvement of the district entrusted to his charge.

" 22. If actual work and the importance of it be considered, there is no comparison between the mere political duty of a Resident, and the toil and tact required in performing the task assigned to the Superintendent of Darjeeling, and I have no doubt that if Dr. Campbell's measures and views receive support, this station of Darjeeling may yet be rendered of much greater importance than has hitherto been ascribed to it."

The following is a list of the statistical and other papers, by Dr. A. Campbell, which were published in India from 1833 to 1857.

1.—Observations on the Goitre in Animals as it occurs in Nipal.—From " Medical and Physiological Society," 1833.

2.—On the Agriculture and Rural Economy of the Valley of Nipal, vol. iv.—" Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India," 1837.

3.—On the Agricultural and other Implements used in the Valley of Nipal.—Ditto, ditto.

4.—On the state of the Arts of Weaving, Spinning, and Dyeing in the Valley of Nipal.—Ditto, ditto.

5.—On the Musical Instruments of the Nipalese.—Ditto, ditto.

6.—Barometrical and Thermometrical Observations at Cathmandoo in 1837.—" India Review."

- 7.—On the Proboscis of the Elephant.—“India Review.”
- 8.—On Earthquakes in Nipal and Thibet in 1833.—“Journal of the Asiatic Society.”
- 9.—On the Mech Tribe of Sikim, with Vocabulary of their Language, &c.—Ditto, ditto.
- 10.—On the Lepchas of Sikim, with Vocabulary, &c., &c.—Ditto, ditto, and in “Journal of the Anthropological Institute,” 1873.
- 11.—On the Limboos of Nipal and Sikim, with Vocabulary, &c., &c.—Ditto, ditto, and in “Journal of the Ethnological Society,” 1869.
- 12.—On the Moormis of Nipal and Sikim.
- 13.—On the Hainos of ditto.
- 14.—Note on the Origin and Language of the Limboos.—“Journal of the Asiatic Society.”
- 15.—On the Comparative Anatomy of the Dog and the Wild Dog, Buansu of Nipal.—“Journal of the Natural History.”
- 16.—On the Comparative Anatomy of the Ox, Bison, and Gavial.—Ditto, ditto.
- 17.—A Gardener’s Calendar for Darjeeling.—“Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society,” 1840.
- 18.—On the Manufacture of Paper from the Bark of the Daphne Cannabina, vol. v.—“Journal of the Agricultural Society of Calcutta.”
- 19.—On the Soils and Cultivation round Darjeeling.
- 20.—On the Cultivation of the Tea Plant at ditto, 1846.
- 21.—On the “Pooah” Fibre, or Hemp of Nipal and Sikim, from a species of Nettle.—“Journal of the Agricultural Society,” 1847.
- 22.—On a Lime Deposit in Sikim, 1843.
- 23.—Proposal for an interchange of Agricultural Seeds between different districts in India.—“Journal of the Agricultural Society,” 1848.
- 24.—Itinerary from Phari in Thibet to “Lassa,” 1848.—Published in Phari.—“Journal of the Asiatic Society.”
- 25.—Routes from Darjeeling to Thibet, 1848.—Ditto, ditto.
- 26.—On the Elevation of Peaks in the Himalaya, 1848.—Ditto, ditto.
- 27.—Journal of a Trip to Sikim in December, 1848, with a Map.—“Journal of the Asiatic Society.”
- 28.—On Winds and Storms in Thibet, 1851.—Ditto, ditto.
- 29.—Report on the Sikim Morung 1851.—Published by the Government of Bengal.
- 30.—On the Cultivation of Cotton in the Morung.—Ditto, ditto.
- 31.—Diary of a Journey through Sikim to the confines of Thibet, in 1849–50.—“Journal of the Asiatic Society.”
- 32.—Report on Copper Ores in the Darjeeling Territory, 1854.
- 33.—Notes on Eastern Thibet, with a Chart, 1855, Phari. No. 1, February, 1871.—“Journal of the Asiatic Society.”
- 34.—Note on the Limboo Language, with an Alphabet, 1855.—“Journal of the Asiatic Society.”

Anthropological Miscellanea.



35.—Paper on the Joshues.—“Journal of the Anthropological Institute,” March, 1873.

36.—Sketch of Political Relations between the Bengal Government and Sikim to 1861, with supplement to 1874. January, 1874.—Oriental.

37. Paper on the Commerce of India.—“Journal of the Society of Arts,” March 17th, 1871.

38.—Note on the Valley of Choombi.—“Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland,” September, 1873.

39.—Paper on Indian Teas, and Importance of extending their adoption in Home Market.—“Society of Arts Journal,” 30th January, 1874.

His labours for the welfare of Darjeeling were unabated even after he ceased to superintend its affairs. His efforts had been devoted to make it a self-supporting settlement, and in this he must be considered to have succeeded. The ultimate result of his example will be the constitution of new English kingdoms in the healthy mountain regions of the Himalayas, which will become fresh centres of civilisation, barriers against Russia's aggressions, and safeguards against revolt in the plains.

His active attention to the introduction of tea experiments in Darjeeling was at length rewarded by the establishment of an extensive culture, the produce of which has obtained a distinct recognition in the London market. In endeavouring to effect this, Dr. Campbell found it necessary to direct his attention to the whole subject of Indian tea culture and manufacture, and he thus rendered a service to the general interests. It was intended at one time to form an organisation in London of Indian tea planters. His papers at the Society of Arts on Indian teas, those he obtained, and the discussions he promoted, led to useful results. Prizes under his direction were given for tea manuals, and he presided over the Committee of Awards at the Society of Arts.

His efforts for promoting trade with Thibet, China, and Central Asia, not only by Darjeeling and Sikim, but by every practicable route, formed a distinct branch of his patriotic labours, and which brought him into direct communication with the governing authorities of India.

It is indeed difficult to doubt the practical career of a man, whose knowledge was sound, whose experience was well based, and whose influence, strengthened by disinterestedness and high personal character, was effectively exercised. Thus his labours were far reaching, and will long bear fruit, for they were in promotion of our imperial policy, and of the welfare as well of the natives of India as of his fellow countrymen.

On the Council of the Ethnological Society, as well as afterwards on its amalgamation with the Anthropological Institute, Dr. Campbell was a special authority and referee in every matter relating to Central Asia. He also applied himself to the promotion of a better knowledge of all Indian subjects. His loss will be sensibly felt, occurring after that of Mr. Crawford, who devoted

himself to Malyan and Australasian topics; and that of Lord Stratford, on Turkish and Central Asiatic matters, leaves without leaders a whole region of anthropology, extending from Central Asia to the shores of Australia. He exercised no less weight in the Royal Asiatic Society.

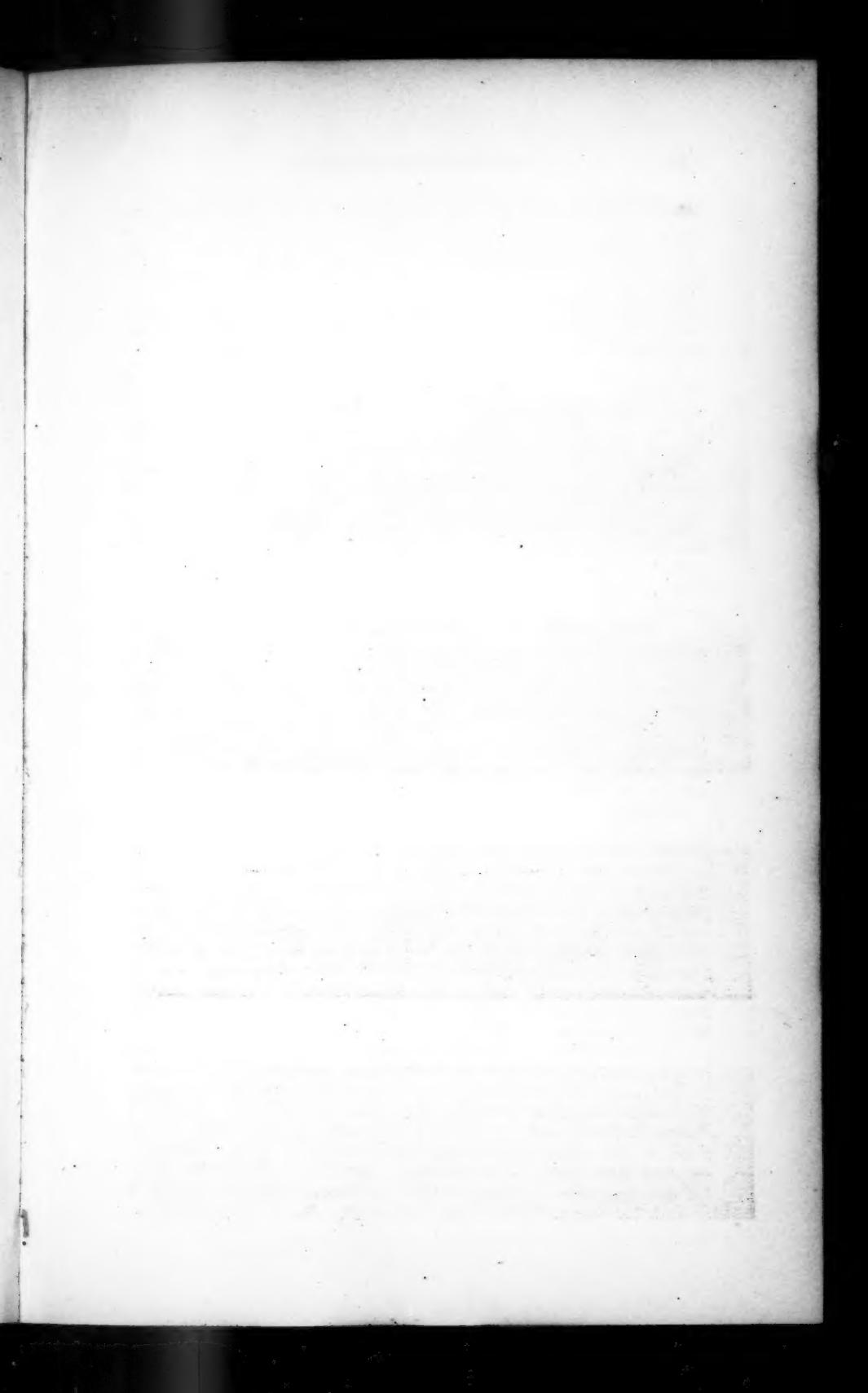
Dr. Campbell will be none the less missed in the treatment of numerous political and economical measures connected with India, on which he brought to bear not only his own exertions, but the co-operation of many men of influence, who reposed confidence in his counsels. Indeed the full measure of his value will only now be felt, because quiet and unobtrusive; he was the representative of powerful opinions, applied to questions, which small in aspect were important in their ultimate consequences.

On his return to India, Dr. Campbell took an active interest in promoting the communication between Calcutta and Darjeeling by road, and this led to his being consulted with reference to the best route for establishing a railway; a contest was thus begun between the Northern Bengal and Eastern Bengal Companies, and Dr. Campbell pursued this important subject, until under the late Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir G. Campbell, he was successful in promoting the establishment of the line now in progress.

It was during the early correspondence on this subject, that he gave great encouragement to renewed efforts for the promotion of hill settlements and sanatoria, which led first to the House of Commons' Committees, and reports on Indian Colonisation in 1858 and 1859, under the chairmanship of the late William Ewart, M.P. This agitation, in which Dr. Campbell took an active part, led ultimately to the establishment in 1867, of the Indian Committee, and Lectures of the Society of Arts in 1867, in which Dr. Campbell was a leading adviser.

In correspondence with the Manchester Cotton Supply Associations in 1858 and 1859, and subsequently, Dr. Campbell took an active interest in promoting experiments with Sea Island Cotton in the Terai. In this, and in silk culture, and the introduction of Tussah silk, Dr. Campbell took an immediate part, and laid the foundation of that agricultural progress in the Terai of Darjeeling, which will ultimately extend throughout that belt at the foot of the Himalayan ranges. With that spirit of perseverance in which Dr. Campbell never relaxed, until he laid the foundation of success, he was induced to take part in the labours of the late Silk Supply Association, and of the Cotton Supply Committee, and of the Silk Supply Committee of the Society of Arts.

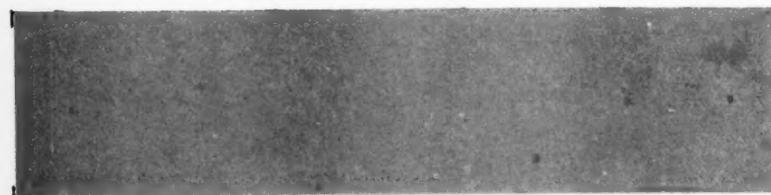
After his arrival in England, in 1862, he resided in London, and he immediately devoted himself with his wonted energy and activity to developing the resources of the Sikim Himalaya, and bringing its commercial products before the British public. He was for a short time Director of a Darjeeling Tea Company, and took an active share in its concerns; he joined the Society of Arts, and was a constant attendant at their meetings, at which he often took part. He was an active member of the Anthropological Institute, and





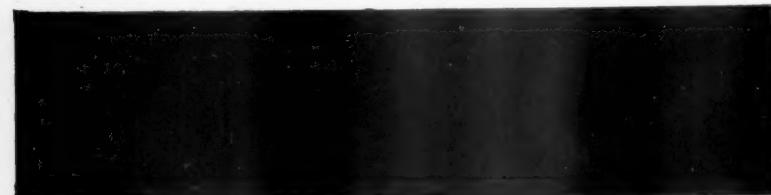
Nº 1 VERY FAIR

BROCA-23-47



Nº 2 FAIR

BROCA -52



Nº 3 GOLDEN

BROCA-40



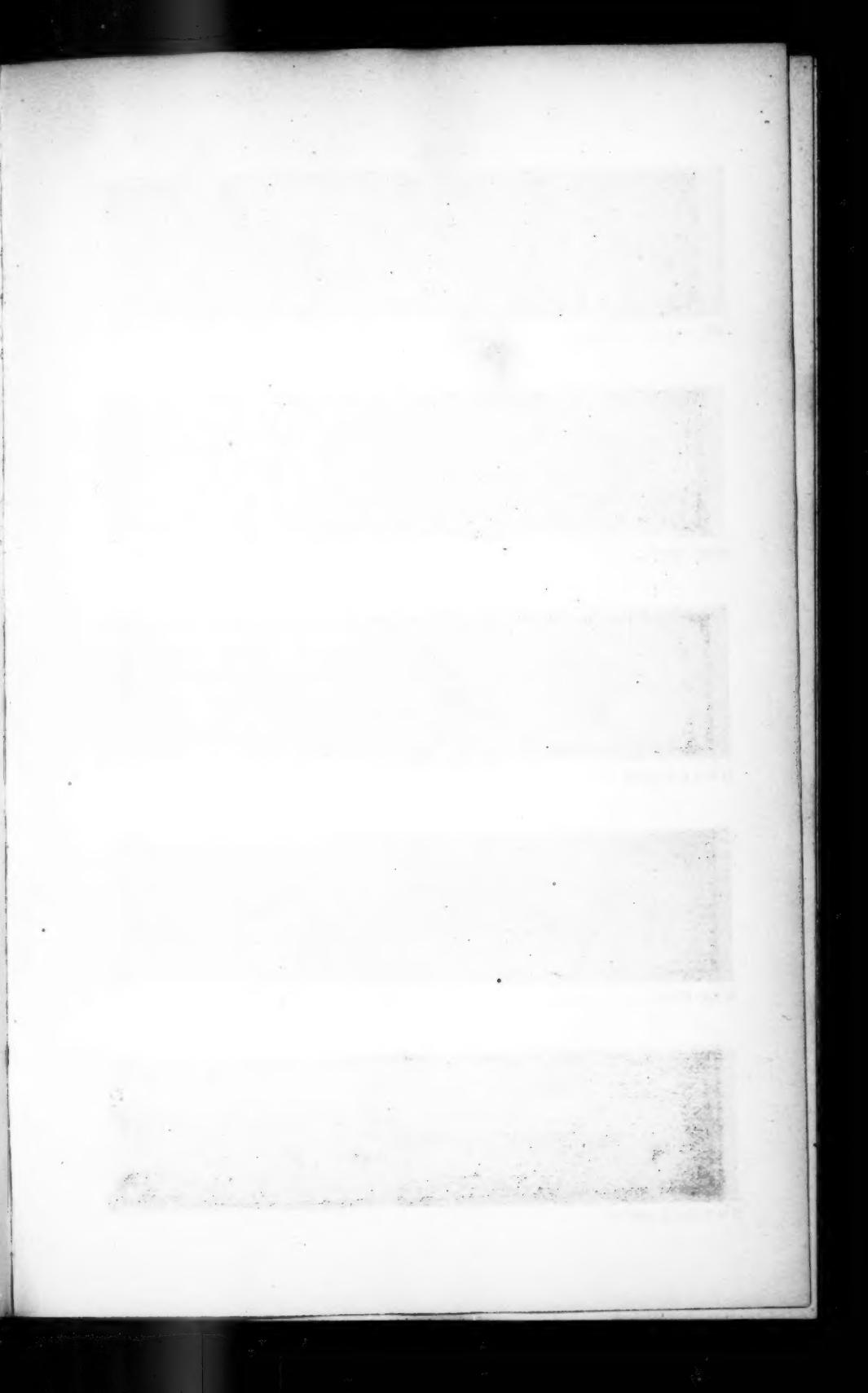
Nº 4 RED

BROCA-30



Nº 5 RED BROWN

BROCA -28





Nº 6 LIGHT BROWN

BROCA-46



Nº 7 BROWN

BROCA-42-28



Nº 8 DARK BROWN

BROCA-27



Nº 9 BLACK BROWN

BROCA - 34



Nº 10 BLACK

BROCA-48

made various oral communications to it. Soon after his arrival in England, he was appointed one of the jurors of the International Exhibition, when he exhibited a collection of Darjeeling teas, and was again a juror in that of 1865.

In 1872 he removed with his family to a house at Slough, where he took an active part in the Orphan Asylum, and various local Institutes, whence he made frequent visits to London, always intent on his favourite pursuits, Indian trade and commerce, or Oriental ethnology. He took a deep interest in the Oriental Congress which took place a very few weeks before his decease; and immediately after which his health, which had never been good, broke down finally, and he died at Slough on the 5th November, 1874, after a short but painful illness, and was buried at Upton. He was a warm friend, of a remarkably generous and affectionate disposition; he was liberal in his views of all matters, and averse to disputation, though tenacious of his opinions. He married, at Darjeeling, in 1841, the second daughter of Dr. J. Lamb, of the Bengal Medical Service, by whom he had twelve children, of whom nine survive him.

ANTHROPOMETRIC COMMITTEE.

DURING the past year the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association has been engaged chiefly in systematising their instructions for the use of observers, so as to avoid as far as possible the errors which have arisen from misunderstanding the regulations issued for collecting data. The utmost precision in taking the measurements, and the use of recognised and clearly defined terms in the descriptions are essential, without which it is impossible to draw up statistics or arrive at general results.

Under the head of *origin*, more definite instructions have been given. "If the individual observed upon has lived habitually in the country he is to be noted under the head of *country folk*. This, however, is not to include residence in large country towns unless the individual so residing is habitually occupied in country pursuits. If both father and mother are also country folk in the sense above defined the entry should be *pure country folk*. In cases where the history of all four grandparents is known, and they, or the majority of them, were all country folk, the entry should have the word *very* prefixed, thus, *very pure country folk*." Similar instructions are to be observed as regards town folk.

Under the head of *eyes*, the terms to be employed are laid down as follows, and to avoid the possibility of error, these terms are inserted at the head of the column in the Schedule which is to be filled in by the observer, viz., grey, light blue, blue, dark blue, light brown, brown, dark brown, green, black; the colours of the

eyes should be viewed at such a distance that minor variations may blend into one general hue and tint.

Under the head of *hair*, the instructions are very detailed. Great difference has existed hitherto in the mode of describing the colour of the hair, thereby rendering the returns quite valueless. The coloured patches in M. Broca's tables were found to be too small to be used at the distance requisite for correct observation. Suggestions have been made that as the colour of the hair of the same head varies with the light, patterns should be shaded also; this, however, only increases the difficulty by rendering the standard of uncertain value. It is now recognised, that the standard of comparison should be of one uniform shade, and the difficulty is met by increasing the size of the patterns, and by making the comparison at such a distance that minor shades, as in the case of the eyes, may be merged as far as possible into one general tint. A small book, containing ten coloured patterns, each pattern being five inches by three, carefully matched with typical specimens of hair kindly furnished by Mr. Douglas, hair-cutter, of Bond Street, has been issued by the Committee with the printed instructions. Mr. Douglas's experience in estimating the prevailing colours of hair, having been derived from the practical requirements of the trade, has been of considerable value to the Committee, and will no doubt be the means of establishing suitable standards of comparison for the British Isles. Although the colours in the little book now issued with the instructions, do not in all cases agree exactly with the shades of M. Broca's tables, published in our "Anthropological Notes and Queries," representing colours of the skin and hair of different races, they approach them sufficiently to enable a reference to be made in each case, which is done by printing at the foot of each pattern the number of the pattern in M. Broca's tables which corresponds to the colour in the book. When the colour in the book falls between two of M. Broca's patterns, the reference is made thus: Broca 42—26. The ten colours in the book are named as follows, viz., 1 very fair, 2 fair, 3 golden, 4 red, 5 red-brown, 6 light brown, 7 brown, 8 dark brown, 9 black-brown, 10 black, and these terms are printed at the head of the column of *Hair* in the Schedule to avoid the possibility of mistake. It is not of course expected that all the various shades of hair should be accurately matched by these ten patterns, the object being to divide the hair of the country into ten classes, and to give a definite value to the terms employed; the nearest pattern to that of the individual observed upon should be the one recorded in the Schedules.

Coxeter's spirometer as at first constructed for the Committee, not having been found of sufficient size to contain the air exhaled at one breath from the lungs of a full-sized man, the air bag has been enlarged.

The regulations for taking the strength of arm have been revised. It is now decided that the extended arm is in all cases to be free, and it is to be extended straight from the side as nearly as possible in the line of the shoulders. The spring balance is invariably to be

used ; a woodcut showing the proper position for taking this measurement is appended to the instructions.

The small dots for testing the eyesight having been found unsuitable, dots one-fifth inch square, the same size as used for the Army, have been adopted. This measurement is invariably to be taken *out of doors*, to avoid the errors arising from difference of light in rooms. An average day is to be selected ; the individual should stand with his back to the sun, and the card should face the light, but should not be exposed to the glare of the sun ; great care is requisite in taking these measurements.

The attention of the Committee has also been drawn to the desirability of endeavouring to ascertain by means of photographs the various types of physiognomy prevailing in different districts. That characteristic differences of countenance do exist in different parts of the country appears very probable. But the difficulty of obtaining any reliable statistics on the subject is very great, owing to the almost impossibility of establishing any recognised standard of comparison for features ; where one person will fix upon a particular class of physiognomy as characteristic of a district, another person in the same district will select something totally different. It is laid down that the only true method of obtaining reliable results, should be by obtaining as large a number of photographs as possible of persons from different localities, whose descriptions should be, as far as possible, recorded in the manner laid down in the Anthropometric Instructions, regardless of type ; and the Committee should then determine typical forms from an examination of the photographs thus obtained. This, however, entails the collection of an enormous number of photographs, to be followed possibly by some little difference of opinion on the part of the Committee appointed to estimate the types.

It is possible that the best means of arriving approximately at the required results may hereafter be found to be, by appointing several independent observers, say five or six, in the same district, who after careful observation of the people around them, might select certain photographs which they considered typical of the district, and the Committee might then determine by means of the photographs thus sent in by different individuals, whether any agreement could be traced between them. Even then the results will probably have to be received with the utmost caution.

Notwithstanding the greater detail in which the instructions are now issued, it is still to be expected that mistakes will be made by different observers, affecting the uniformity of the tests and invalidating the results. It is therefore proposed that all persons who propose to make observations, should have the use of the various instruments explained to them, and should qualify, by going through the different measurements under the superintendence of an instructor, which function has been undertaken by Mr. J. H. Young, Assistant Secretary to the Committee at the General Register Office, Somerset House.

A. LANE FOX.

